

The University of Chicago

THE VOCABULARY OF MENTAL
ABERRATION IN ROMAN
COMEDY AND PETRONIUS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1935

By
DOROTHY MAY PASCHALL

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THE VOCABULARY OF ARISTOTEL
ABBREVIATION IN ROMAN
COMEDY AND PETRONIUS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
BY
J. H. M. VAN NELLE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 1961

1961

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D. M. P.

January 1, 1938

[The author died on February 1, 1938.]

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Boisacq: E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*; Heidelberg, 1907-16.
- CGL: *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. Loewe and G. Goetz, 7 vols.; Leipzig, 1888-1923.
- E-M: A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*; Paris, 1932.
- Forcellini: E. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*; rev. by V. de-Vit, 6 vols.; Prato, 1858-79.
- FPL: E. Baehrens, *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum epicorum et lyricorum*, 2nd ed. by W. Morel; Leipzig, 1927.
- Georges: K. E. Georges, *Ausführliches lat.-deutsches Handwörterbuch*; 8th ed. by H. Georges, 2 vols.; Hannover and Leipzig, 1913.
- GL: *Glossaria Latina*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 5 vols.; Paris, 1926-33.
- GLK: *Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, 7 vols.; Leipzig, 1857-80.
- Lex. Myth: *Ausführliches Lexikon d. griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Röscher; Leipzig, 1884.
- L-S: H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 8th ed., New York, 1897; 9th ed., rev. by H. S. Jones, Oxford, 1925—.
- M-L: W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3d ed.; Heidelberg, 1930.
- Otto: A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörterlichen Redensarten d. Römer*; Leipzig, 1890.
- RE: *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie d. class. Altertumswiss.*; new ed. by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, Stuttgart, 1894—.
- RVV: *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*; Giessen, 1903—.
- Schanz-H: M. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit. bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, 4th ed.; vol. 1, by C. Hosius; Munich, 1927.
- Stolz-Schm.: F. Stolz and J. H. Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 5th ed. rev. by M. Leumann and J. B. Hofmann; Munich, 1927.
- TLL: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*; Leipzig 1900—.
- Walde: A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed.; Heidelberg, 1910.
- Walde-H: A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3d ed.; by J. B. Hofmann, Heidelberg, 1930—.
- Walde-P: A. Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ed. by J. Pokorny, 3 vols.; Berlin, 1926-32.

Plautus and Terence are cited from the Oxford texts by Lindsay and Kauer-Lindsay, respectively. The fragments of the other Latin comic poets are cited from Ribbeck's third edition, and those of the Greek poets from the edition of Kock. The papyrus fragments of Menander are cited according to Jensen (Berlin: Weidmann, 1929). For Festus the paging of Lindsay's Teubner text (Leipzig, 1913) is given. Nonius is cited from Lindsay's edition, but according to Mercier's paging.

The plays of Plautus, Terence, and Aristophanes are cited in very abbreviated form without the name of the author.

Titles of journals are abbreviated approximately in accordance with the system followed by Marouzeau in *L'Année philologique*.

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written on the subject of madness in the ancient world. Historians of science have discussed the prevalence of mental diseases, their classification, diagnosis, and treatment, as well as the explanations of them put forward by the adherents of different philosophical and physiological doctrines. The representations of madness in literature and the popular attitude toward it have been analyzed, while the controversies in regard to some details of the Roman law on the matter are apparently not yet settled.¹ To the question however of the Greek or Latin vocabulary describing madness, little attention has been paid.² It is from this point of view that the present study has been undertaken.

The study has a twofold purpose: to determine the semantic sources of the Latin words for mental aberration—and mental deficiency—and to investigate in detail the varying uses and shades of meaning of the more interesting of these words. There is proposed on the one hand an intensive treatment, confined to a narrow field and to a single language, of the same type of subject as that to be handled in Professor Buck's projected Dictionary of Selected Indo-European Synonyms, and on the other hand, it is hoped by a close examination of individual expressions to supplement and correct the information given in dictionaries and in some cases to contribute to a more accurate interpretation of particular passages. The combination of these two quite

¹ Cf. J. L. Heiberg, *Geisteskrankheiten im klass. Altertum* (Berlin and Leipzig, de Gruyter, 1927), reprinted from *Allg. Ztschr. f. Psychiatrie* 86.1-44 (1927); also publ. in Danish in *Medicinsk-hist. Smaaskrifter* 1.3 (Copenhagen, 1913) under title of *Sindssygdом i den klass. Oldtid*, and reprinted in *Fra Hellas og Italien, udvalgte Afhandlinger* 1.203-50 (Copenhagen, 1929); A. C. Vaughan, *Madness in Greek Thought and Custom* (Univ. of Michigan diss., Baltimore, 1919); A. O'Brien-Moore, *Madness in Ancient Literature* (Princeton diss., Weimar, 1924); J. Köhm, *Zur Auffassung u. Darstellung des Wahnsinns im kl. Altertum* (Beilage z. *Jahresber. d. Hess. Gymn. in Mainz*, 1927-28). Earlier studies are discussed by Vaughan 10-14, and Heiberg 1. There is much pertinent material in J. Tambornino, *De antiquorum daemonismo* (RVV 7.3, Giessen, 1909). On the legal question, see below p. 44.

² A collection of the materials provided by the Germanic languages is to be found in H. E. Zabel, *The Semantic Development of Words for Mental Aberration in Germanic* (Univ. of Chicago diss., Chicago, 1922).

different points of view inevitably results in some unevenness in the presentation of the material; an effort has been made however to coördinate them as far as possible.

In order that the work might be completed within a reasonable time, it was found necessary to limit the scope of the study, and accordingly, since colloquial literature would naturally be expected to provide more material of the sort desired than formal writings, it was decided to deal primarily with those words and expressions found in the best sources of colloquial Latin, comedy and Petronius. No attempt has, therefore, been made to treat fully anything which does not occur in these sources, although occasional expressions derived from other texts have been included. To explain the words chosen for discussion, however, the information given by indexes and lexicons, especially the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, has been freely used.

Latin expressions denoting mental disorders or deficiency, like those in other Indo-European languages,³ appear to be entirely figurative. Three main types may be distinguished. In the first place, there are comparisons with certain classes of persons, with plants or animals, or with senseless and more particularly with imperfect and useless objects, that merely suggest an analogy to the condition. Other words and phrases reflect an interpretation in terms of the supernatural. It should be noted however that the idea of divine possession was associated with many states that we should not consider mad, and that no distinction was made between them. Finally, a more rationalistic approach is suggested by words that properly refer to disease, whether mental or physical. The factor of chronology is of course to be borne in mind. Some words must already have been applied to madness in the pre-literary if not the pre-Latin period, and the Romans could hardly have been conscious of any metaphor. In most cases however, the development can be traced within Latin itself.

³ In the index of meanings of IE roots appended to Walde-P, captions such as *albern*, *Wahnsinn*, etc. do indeed appear, but in each case for the roots so classified some more concrete meaning is also noted, e.g. **dheues-* (1.843) 'stieben, stäuben, wirbeln', etc., also 'verwirrt sein, betäubt, dösig, albern'. The absence of IE roots meaning 'insane' or 'stupid' is not surprising, as such words are highly emotional and consequently subject to change. Moreover, just as the modern notion of insanity as a disordered functioning of the mental processes which results in abnormal behavior is foreign to uncivilized societies, such as we may suppose the IE speech-community to have been, so we should not expect to find in the language of such social groups terms that represent our idea of the disorder.

I. EXPRESSIONS BASED ON ANALOGY

First to be discussed are expressions which merely suggest an analogy to mental deficiency. Frequently the basis for the comparison is to be found in the actual behavior of mentally deficient persons. In the Germanic languages, a considerable variety of such expressions has been recorded,¹ but in Latin and Greek they seem to be more limited. *Ληρεῖν*, which literally means 'to talk nonsense', is used in Aristophanes in the sense of 'to be crazy',² while in Latin several derivatives of the onomatopoeitic root **baba* may be considered under this head.³

Babiger, defined by the glossaries as 'stultus',⁴ is the clearest example. Though **baba* is usually thought to have denoted originally the prattling of a small child, a number of Romance words point rather to the meaning 'drool', 'saliva', which fits either an infant or an idiot, and in formation *babiger* is most easily explained as a compound like *spumiger*, *barbiger*, *aliger*, etc., meaning 'drooling'.⁵ *Baburrus*, glossed 'stultus, ineptus'⁶ is more difficult. In addition to its occurrence in the glossaries, the word is also found in the phrase *baburrum stridorem*, used by the author of the preface to Book VII of the *Anthologia Salmasiana*

¹ Zabel 52-4 and 56-7 lists expressions derived from words meaning to 'stare', 'gape', 'walk strangely', 'make sudden movements', 'rock' or 'waver', and 'grope'. There is also a group of words referring to the peculiar speech of the insane (55).

² E.g. Nub. 1273-5: ΣΤ. τί δῆτα ληρεῖς....; ΑΜ. ληρῶ τὰ χρέματ' ἀπολαβεῖν εἰ βούλομαι; ΣΤ. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως σὺ γ' αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνεις.

³ Walde-P. 2. 105-6.

⁴ The different citations are probably all related directly or indirectly to Abstrusa BA 15 (GL 3.14 = CGL 4.24.16), and consequently may go back ultimately to Vergil scholia. Cf. Mountford's note on Abavus BA 1 (GL 2.40), Thomson, GL 3.xvii-xix, and Loewe, *Prodromus Corp. Gloss. Lat.* 54 (Leipzig, 1876).

⁵ Goldberger, *Glotta* 20.136-7 (1931-32). Cf. M-L 852. *Bavosus* (Vit. Patr. 5.14.4) should be compared; cf. Hofmann, IF 43.115 (1926).

⁶ Ps. Plac. B 6 (GL 4.55) *baburra* : *stult[iti]a inepta*. Cf. Ps. Philox. BA 37 (GL 2.156 = CGL 2.28.28) *baburra* : ἄφρων ἀνόητος μάταιος, which Laistner considers derived from Festus. If the text is right, the word is really a masculine in -a like *scurra*. Then the Ps. Plac. item would represent either a parallel form or a corrupt text. Isid. Orig. 10.31 *baburrus* : *stultus, ineptus* proves nothing, as the item may as well be derived from Ps. Plac. as from Festus. Cf. Lindsay, *Journ. Phil.* 34.255-66 (1918).

to describe the croaking of a frog. While very little weight can be attached to this evidence, it at least suggests that *baburrus* may have referred to speech and meant primarily 'unintelligible'.⁷ Then the Hesychian gloss βαβάζειν· τὸ <μῆ> διηρθρωμένα λέγειν. ἔνιοι δὲ βοᾶν is perhaps closer than *babiger*.⁸ Connections of *baburrus* with IE **baba* is thus likely enough on semantic grounds, but the formation is puzzling and reminds one rather of the probable Etruscan loanwords *scurra* and *saburra* or *burrus* < πυρρός. If Indo-European, *baburrus* is at least surely not Italic.⁹

There seems on the other hand to be no reason to question the derivation of *Babulus* from **baba*, but whether it connotes mental deficiency is very doubtful. It is the name of a robber merely mentioned in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*,¹⁰ and perhaps occurs as an epithet of the talkative slave Syrus in the *Adelphoe*. The text and meaning are disputed however.¹¹ Of *Baba* we are more certain. Seneca in the *Apocolocyntosis* makes Clotho bring out three spindles representing the lives of men who are shortly to die: 'unus erat Augurini, alter Babae, tertius Claudii.'¹² We should expect *Augurinus* and *Baba* to be the names of typical fools; for *Baba* this hypothesis is confirmed by a passage of the *Epistles*: 'Quam tu nunc vitam dici existimas stultam? Babae et Isonis?'¹³ Attention has been called to the alphabetical order of the names, in which part of the joke probably lies. Of *Au-*

⁷ The author of the preface used a much fuller edition of Ps. Plac. than the one we possess, and may even have had a quotation from some Republican author to guide him as to the use of the word. Cf. Pirie, GL 4.8-10.

⁸ Βαβάξαι· ὀρχήσασθαι (Hesych.) is a different word. Cf. L-S⁹ s.v. βαβάκτης and F. Bechtel, BB 23.248-9 (1897). Ps. Philox. BA 1 *babit* : γαυριᾶ (GL 2.155 = CGL 2.27.52) belongs with βαβάκτης 'dancer' rather than with *babiger*.

⁹ Walde-H s.v. 2 *burrae* suggests that *baburrus* owes its second syllable to the influence of *burrae* 'trifles' (Auson. 471.5, p. 86 Peiper), which, as he says, is probably identical with *burra* 'wool'. Neither this word nor *burrus* < πυρρός 'red-faced' is close to *baburrus* in meaning, nor do we know of any standing phrase that might give rise to contamination between either of them and a word whose initial syllable was *bab-*. On Ps. Plac. B 16 (GL 4.55) *Burrae* *Vatroniae*: *fatuae* ac *stupidae*, a *fabula* *quadam* *Vatroni* *auctoris* *quam* *Burra* *inscripsit*, vel a *meretrice* *burra*, cf. Lindsay, Cl. Quart. 23.31-2 (1929). Βαβύρτας ὁ παράμωρος (Hesych.), which is presumably somehow related to *baburrus*, is itself an anomalous form.

¹⁰ 4.14.

¹¹ 915. Cf. Kauer, Wien. Stud. 24.537-41 (1902).

¹² 3.4.

¹³ 15.9.

gurinus we know nothing, but *Baba* is certainly chosen on account of the sound of the word.¹⁴

A similar figure is seen in the rare Greek loanword, *blennus* 'stupid'. It is one of a string of epithets with which Nicobulus reproaches himself when he finds he has been fooled by Chrysalus,¹⁵ and is used by Lucilius to characterize a naive rustic.¹⁶ Neither passage tells much about the connotations of the word, but the notion of sluggishness suggested by the Greek lexicographer's gloss, *βλε(ν)νόν· τὸν νωθῆ καὶ μωρόν*, fits them both.¹⁷ It is clear however from related words that *βλεννός* must originally have denoted a person with a running nose.¹⁸

It may, again, be some peculiarity of action or of speech that gives inhabitants of various localities a more or less well deserved reputation for dullness.¹⁹ *Βάρβαρος*—which, to be sure, generally implies lack of breeding and of education rather than of intellect—is pretty clearly an onomatopoetic word representing the unintelligible chatter of the foreigner.²⁰ Perhaps it is for the same reason that *Ὀπικός*, *Opicus*,

¹⁴ Cf. Ball ad loc. and Weinreich, *Senecas Apocolocyntosis* 36 (Berlin, 1923).

¹⁵ Ba. 1088. Cf. P. Fest. 32.10 (= GL 4.136, where see Lindsay's note).

¹⁶ 1063: *Deblaterant, plennus bonus rusticus concinit una.* Cf. Marx ad loc.

¹⁷ Bekker, *Anecd.* 85.24; Hesych. s.v. Cf. Sophron *51; Epich. *119 Kaibel.

¹⁸ Boisacq s.v. Why Walde-H assumes a semantic development in *blennus* from 'weich, schlaff' to 'dumm' is not clear. *Δέμφος* (Menander 493, Epitr. 344), and *κορυζᾶν* and its derivatives may likewise refer to stupidity. Cf. B. Brotherton, *Vocabulary of Intrigue in Roman Comedy* 81-2 (Univ. of Chicago diss., Menasha, 1926).

¹⁹ For some modern English examples, cf. Elmquist, *Mod. Phil.* 32.81 (1934). In antiquity as today, country people had a reputation for boorishness and lack of culture, but words like *agrestis* and *rusticus* do not as a rule specifically imply stupidity. For a general characterization of the farmer as opposed to the city dweller, cf. Ribbeck, *Agroikos, eine ethologische Studie* (Leipzig, 1888 = *Abh. d.k. sächs. Ges., phil.-hist. Kl.*, vol. 10, no. 1). A summary of a paper by Heerdegen entitled *Agrestis u. rusticus; zwei lat. Wortbegriffe in ihrer historisch-semasiologischen Entwicklung* is published in *Verh. d. Versamml. dt. Philol.* 55.25-6 (1925). The author finds that *agrestis* had from the beginning a derogatory tone as well as the literal meaning, while *rusticus* is used only in the literal sense down to the time of Cicero.

²⁰ Cf. Boisacq s.v. H. Werner, *Neue Jahrb.* 41.389-408 (1918), gives a comprehensive account of the word from the earliest citations to modern times. Cf. esp. 390-9. Latin *barbarus* occasionally refers to mental powers, e.g. Ba. 121-24: *O Lyde, es barbarus; / quem ego sapere nimio censui plus quam Thalem, / is stultior es barbaro poticio, / qui tantus natu deorum nescis nomina.* (On the puzzling word *poticius*, cf. Fest. 240.18; Bücheler, *RhM* 37.530 [1882]; E-M s.v. *putus*.)

a name of the Oscans, is used both in Greek and in Latin as a term of reproach.²¹ Greeks and Romans alike considered the Boeotians stupid,²² and in the later Roman tradition the Abderites are similarly described, although earlier the city seems to have been thought particularly the home of madmen.²³

Bucco and *Maccus*, stock characters of the Atellan farce, might also serve as typical examples of folly. Apuleius, wishing to emphasize the enormity of his accuser Rufinus' wickedness, says that all the famous rogues of legend, 'si cum hac una Rufini fallacia contenduntur, macci prorsus et bucones videbuntur.'²⁴ This appears to be the only case where *maccus* is used metaphorically,²⁵ but the Sardinian *makku* 'fool' shows that it must have been so used in the colloquial language of at least one province.²⁶ *Bucco* also occurs in a list of uncomplimentary epithets in the Bacchides.²⁷ No details in regard to the make-up or performance of either character are known, and the only evidence available, that of the etymology of the names, is uncertain.²⁸

Extremely puzzling is the group of Etruscan loanwords *barcala*,

²¹ E.g. Cato ad M. fil. fr. 1 J. ap. Plin. N.H. 29.14: Nos quoque dictitant barbaros et spurcius nos quam alios *ὀπικῶν* (*opicos codd.*) appellatione foedant. Cf. Anth. P. 5.132.7 (Philodemus); Fest. 204.28; and Mayor on Juv. 3. 207. A different (and unconvincing) explanation of *opicus* is given by P. Fabbri in Boll. fil. cl. 30.105-6 (1924).

²² Cf. Hor. Ep. 2.1.244 (with Kiessling-Heinze's note); Otto s.v. *Boeotus*; W. Rhys Roberts, The Ancient Boeotians: their Character and Culture, and their Reputation, 1-9 (Cambridge, 1895).

²³ W. R. M. Lamb, Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc. 1913.11; cf. Otto s.v.

²⁴ Apol. 81.

²⁵ Except perhaps As. prol. 11: Demophilus scripsit, Maccus vortit barbare; cf. Sonnenburg, RE 14.96-8.

²⁶ M-L 5197.

²⁷ Ba. 1088; *bardi*, *blenni*, *buccones*.

²⁸ According to the usual explanation, the noun *bucco* is derived from *bucca* 'face', which suggests that the mask of the character may have been constructed with puffed-up cheeks and that he may have been represented as a great talker. Cf. Schanz-H 1.248-9 and Marx, RE 2.1919. *Maccus* is ordinarily described as an Oscan loan ultimately derived from a Greek word related to *μακκοῦν* 'to be foolish' (Luc. Lexiph. 19; of old men, Ar. Eq. 62, 396; Com. Adesp. 1210). Cf. Walde s.v. and Kroll, RE 14.126. Ernout however, REL 3.117-8 (1925) and E-M s.v., connects *maccus* with *māla* < **mak-s-lā*, which would involve a development of meaning similar to that in *bucco*. On the other hand, along with efforts to trace the Atellan farce ultimately to an Etruscan origin (cf. Altheim, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 27.35-52 [1929]), have gone attempts to derive the names of its stock characters from Etruscan: cf. E. Lattes, Glotta 2.269-70 (1910), and E. Kalinka, PhW 42.571-6 (1922).

bardus, *barcus*, *bargus*, *barginna*, and *baro*.²⁹ The single instance of *barcala*, 'Videtis . . . mulieris compedes: sic nos barcalae despoliamur',³⁰ is not very enlightening. *Baro* is fortunately more common. Cicero condemns Patro, the leading Epicurean of the day, and all his company with the remark, 'Apud Patronem et reliquos barones te in maxima gratia posui',³¹ while in another passage he ironically applies the epithet to himself and others who do not see through the hypocrisy of the Epicureans: 'Officium, aequitatem . . . mori pro patria, haec cum loqueris, nos barones stupemus, tu videlicet tecum ipse rides'.³² A similar line of thought may be represented in a satire of Persius in which a man who allows conscientious scruples to interfere with business is called *baro*.³³ There are also cases in which the epithet *baro* is applied to athletes. Cicero quotes the diviner Antipho as saying to a runner who had consulted him about a dream in which he had been transformed into an eagle, 'Baro, victum te esse non vides? Ista enim avis insectans alias avis et agitans semper ipsa postrema est'.³⁴ Here the fact that the athlete is represented as unsuccessful in the race may be significant. Petronius uses *baro* as an epithet of two individuals, the strong man in a team of acrobats,³⁵ and a Cappadocian who could, says Trimalchio, lift an ox.³⁶ In neither case, be it noted, does the word necessarily carry any derogatory implication.³⁷ Finally, *baro* is linked with *rupex* 'country bumpkin' in a fragment of Lucilius, 'Baronum ac rupicum squarrosa incondita rostra'.³⁸ We see then that

²⁹ Nehring, Glotta 17.117-27 (1929). V. Pisani, RIGI 16, fasc. 1-2, 68-72 (1932), tries to explain these words in terms of an IE etymology, but his argument is very unconvincing. Cf. Kretschmer, Glotta 22.259, note 1 (1934). On the proper names, cf. Schulze, ZGLEN 73-5.

³⁰ Petr. 67.7.

³¹ Att. 5.11.6.

³² Fin. 2. 76. Cf. Fam. 9.26.3.

³³ 5.138.

³⁴ Div. 2.144.

³⁵ 53.11.

³⁶ 63.7, 10.

³⁷ Encolpius calls the acrobat 'baro insulsissimus', meaning that the entertainment he offered was poor, but this notion lies in the adjective. See above 31-2.

³⁸ Lucil. 1121 ap. P. Fest. 442.5. The text depends on Paulus' epitome alone, since the first four letters of the quotation are illegible in the MS of Festus. The MSS of Paulus read *varonum*, which probably therefore stood in the MS of Festus which he used. Elsewhere the spelling *varo* is cited only from Pers. 5.138, where it rests on inferior MS authority, and has been rejected by recent editors. There is no evidence of a confusion in pronunciation between *b* and *v* in Lucilius' time,

baro implies physical strength and lack of culture as well as stupidity,³⁹ and we may possibly find further confirmation of this conclusion in the fact that, in later antiquity at least, *baro* could also mean simply a 'hired laborer', and especially a 'soldier's servant'.⁴⁰

Bardus likewise means 'stupid', perhaps with an accessory idea of sluggishness, if we are to stress the collocation of terms in the physiognomist Zopyrus' characterization of Socrates as 'stupidum et bardum',⁴¹ and in Apocides' complacent report of his interview with the slave-dealer in company with Epidicus: 'Quasi stolidum combardum me faciebam.'⁴² In other comic passages *bardus* is coupled with *rusticus* or *barbarus*.⁴³ Particularly interesting is a passage of Martianus Capella, in which Solinus' statement of the suicidal propensities of the Thracians, 'Thracibus barbaris inesse contemptum vitae',⁴⁴ is paraphrased by 'Thracia, cuius incolae bardi habent appetitum maximum mortis'.⁴⁵ From this passage it may be inferred that, in scholarly

and if we are not dealing with two separate words, *varonum* must be merely a scribal error. Walde distinguished *baro* and *varo* in the second ed. of his Lat. Etym. Wb., but this view is rejected by Hofmann in his revision of the work. E-M is inconsistent, citing Lucil. 1121 s.v. *baro* and also as the only example of *varo* < *varus* 'bow-legged' (cf. the proper name Varro). For *rupices* (: *rupes*), see below 24 note 118.

³⁹ Wölfflin, ALL 2.13-14 (1896), and Sitzb. Münch. Akad. 1894.105-6, argued that *baro* implied not an absolute lack of mental capacity, but a one-sided development, as in the case of athletes, who are noted for their physical strength and skill rather than for their intellectual prowess. This theory however, which was inspired by a desire to bridge the gap between the classical *bārō* and the medieval *bārō*, fails to explain the citations from Cicero and Persius, and is really a tour de force. Riccoboni, Atti del R. Ist. Ven. di Sc. 53.394-402 (1894-95), adds nothing to Wölfflin's argument.

⁴⁰ Schol. Pers. 5.138: Varones dicuntur servi militum qui utique stultissimi sunt, servi scilicet stultorum; Isid. Orig. 9.4.31: Mercennarii sunt qui serviunt accepta mercede. Idem et barones Graeco nomine, quod sint fortes in laboribus. *Barōs* enim dicitur gravis, quod est fortis. Cf. Lindsay, Bull. du Cange 4.41-2 (1928).

⁴¹ Cic. Fat. 10. See below 47.

⁴² Ep. 421. See below 19.

⁴³ Per. 168-9: Sati' fuit indoctae, inmemori, insipienti dicere totiens. / Nimi' tandem me quidem pro barda et pro rustica reor habitam esse aps te; Caec. St. 250: Nimis audacem nimisque bardum barbarum (preserved in P. Fest. 31.10 = GL 4.134, q.v., with Lindsay's note). The phrase *bardum barbarum* was obviously chosen for its alliterative effect, and is therefore of little value as evidence for the meaning of *bardus*.

⁴⁴ 10.1.

⁴⁵ 6.656.

tradition at least, *bardus* was thought to be a synonym of *barbarus*. Such a notion would suit the occurrences of *baro* also, especially the quotation from Lucilius, and is demonstrably the meaning of the related word *barginna*, which, though not certainly attested earlier than the fifth century A.D., is probably ancient. A grammatical treatise falsely attributed to Caper contains the prescription, 'Bargena, non barginna, genus cui barbaricum sit.'⁴⁶ The spelling *bargena* is obviously a bit of popular etymology, but the author was not far wrong as to the meaning of the word, as we see from the glossary definitions.⁴⁷ Further evidence may be found in the probable derivatives of *barginna*, Old French *barragouyn* 'foreigner', Modern French *baragouin* 'gibberish', dial. *bargouin*, *baragouin* 'person who speaks unintelligibly';⁴⁸ and the curious gloss *barcus* : *tardus*, *sine lingua* may be compared.⁴⁹ It seems clear then that the element *bar-*, which is common to all these words, might denote something foreign, particularly foreign speech. More than this the evidence does not permit us to say.

Instead of peculiar speech, it may be slow movements or even complete lack of movement that are felt to be characteristic of the stupid person. Of the Latin expressions which reflect this idea, the most obvious example is *tardus*, which has about the same range of meanings as Greek *βραδύς* or English *slow*.⁵⁰ It is often applied by Cicero in the philosophical works to those who are endowed with little native in-

⁴⁶ GLK 7.103.8. Cf. Herbig, Aufsätze z. Kultur- u. Sprachgesch. E. Kuhn gewidmet 173-4 (Munich, 1916), and, for the date of the treatise, GLK 7.90 1.

⁴⁷ Ps. Cyrill. (CGL 2.423.37) προσφώνησις βαρβαρικὴ *bargina*; Ps. Philox. BA 32 (GL 2.156 = CGL 2.28.23) *barginna*: νεκροφόρος, βάρβαρος, προσφώνησις βαρβάρου. According to Laistner ad loc., these items are probably derived from Festus or perhaps from scholia on the satirists. Martyrius, GLK 7.175.5, is derived from a similar glossary. Cf. Abba BA 23 (GL 5.31) *Barginae* : *alienigenae*, *peregrinae*, the ultimate source of which may again be Festus (Inguanez-Fordyce ad loc.). The definition *νεκροφόρος* is unexplained. Cf. Nehring, Glotta 17.127.

⁴⁸ Cf. Tobler-Lommatzsch, Altfranz. Wb. 1.828. This etymology, first suggested in 1651 by Gronovius (Observ. in Script. Eccl. Monobiblos 216-18), involves no more phonetic difficulties than the derivation from *Berecynthia* accepted by v. Wartburg, Franz. Etym. Wb., and is much to be preferred on semantic grounds. For the semantic development of the French forms, cf. L. Sainéan, Revue des études rabelaisiennes 5.393-8 (1907), and also the same author's Les sources indigènes de l'étym. française 1.25, 225-6 (Paris, 1925). Sainéan's etymological suggestions are not however very clear or convincing.

⁴⁹ Abba BA 39 (GL 5.31 = CGL 4.210.39). Cf. Ps. Cyrill. (CGL 2.254.6) Ἀφνήσις *bargus sine* (in) *genio*. The spelling *barcus* may be an error for *bargus*, but more probably represents a parallel form; cf. Nehring, Glotta 17.117.

⁵⁰ Cf. L-S⁹ s.v. and NED s.v.

telligence, and may be contrasted with *ingeniosus*, for example,⁵¹ or used as a synonym of *stultus*.⁵² In this sense, *tardus* occurs first in Terence, where Gnatho's character sketch of the soldier in the Eunuchus may be cited: 'Fatuos est, insulsu', tardu', stertit noctes et dies.'⁵³

The history of Latin *moros* is somewhat different from that of *tardus*, as it is a Greek loan. In Latin the word is practically confined to Plautus,⁵⁴ although *morio* 'fool' or 'dwarf' occurs in Martial and later authors.⁵⁵ The reason why *moros* did not survive in popular speech is probably that, as Professor Frank suggests, it belonged to the slang which the soldiers picked up while in Sicily and Greece, and died out when the strenuous campaigns in Greek lands were over.⁵⁶

From the semantic point of view, *moros* requires little comment. That it should be used in punning combinations with *mos*, *moris*, was inevitable. Lysiteles, complaining of Lesbonicus' obstinacy, says that love 'mores hominum moros et morosos efcit.'⁵⁷ Suetonius attributes a similar joke to the emperor Nero, who 'certe omnibus rerum verborumque contumeliis mortuum (i.e. Claudium) insectatus est, modo stultitiae modo saevitiae arguens; nam et morari eum desisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur, multaque decreta et constituta, ut insipientis atque deliri, pro irritis habuit.'⁵⁸ In other passages, *moros* is used merely as a synonym of *stultus*.⁵⁹ The compound *morologus* offers more interest. It occurs twice, once in a drunken

⁵¹ Tusc. 1.80, Fat. 9. Cf. Ac. 2.97.

⁵² Leg. 1.51, De Orat. 1.124-5. Cf. Gell. 16.12.3.

⁵³ 1079. *Tardus* may also have an erotic meaning here; cf. Don. ad loc., and perhaps Cas. 885. It clearly refers to slowness of mind however in H.T. 775-6: CH. Quam ob rem istuc, Syre? / nam prorsum nil intellego. SY. Vah tardus es.

⁵⁴ Except for Suet. Nero 33.1 (see above), the only other passages seem to be Sen. Apoc. 7.3 and 8.3, in both of which the word forms part of a Greek phrase. In both passages, too, it refers to Claudius, and may have been chosen because of Nero's pun. Plasberg proposed to read *mori* for *mortui* in Apul. Met. 7.12; cf. Helm ad loc.

⁵⁵ Cf. Forcellini s.v. Martial plays on the two senses of the word, e.g. 8.13: Morio dictus erat: viginti milibus emi. / redde mihi nummos, Gargiliane: sapit.

⁵⁶ Life and Lit. in the Rom. Republic 70-2 (Berkeley, 1930). The word was common in colloquial Greek, as is shown by its frequent use in Greek comedy: *μῶρος* eight times in Aristoph., *μωπλα* twice (in the exclamation τῆς μωπας!) *μῶρος* twice in Meander, and four times at least in the other comic poets (besides Com. Adesp. 596, where it is used of food, and means 'tasting flat' as opposed to salty; see below 46).

⁵⁷ Tri. 669 (A reads ΜΩΡΩΣ). Cf. Men. 571 and perhaps St. 641.

⁵⁸ Nero 33.1.

⁵⁹ Mi. 370, 672, St. 641.

monologue sung by Pseudolus, and once at the conclusion of the opening dialogue between Toxilus and Sagaristio in the Persa. Pseudolus describes at some length his idea of pure bliss, namely, a banquet where wine and perfume are abundant, where everybody has his sweetheart with him, 'neque esse alium alii odio ibi nec molestum / nec sermonibus morologis uti.'⁶⁰ The context, and especially the words *odio* and *molestum*, indicate that *sermonibus morologis* are quarrelsome or perhaps jealous outbursts. In the other passage, Toxilus, who has been trying to borrow money to buy his sweetheart's freedom, apologizes for his insistence with the words, 'Amoris vitio, non meo, nunc tibi morologus fio (= *μωρολογέω*?).'⁶¹ The pure Latin equivalent, *stultiloquus*, occurs later in the same play, in a conversation between Toxilus and the slave dealer, who cannot see the drift of a long letter he has been given to read, and asks what it all has to do with him. Toxilus silences him at once with, 'Tace, stultiloque; nescis quid te instet boni—.'⁶² These words have been thought to refer to a sort of conventional literary lover's complaint, similar to the *παρακλανσίθυρον*, of which several examples are preserved in both Greek and Latin.⁶³ In the Pseudolus passage only is such a meaning possible however, and even there it is not necessary. The Greek examples show *μωρολογία* only in the sense of 'silly chatter'. Plutarch, for instance, defines *μέθη* as *λήρησις πάροις* or a combination of *οἴνωσις* and *μωρολογία*.⁶⁴

As may be seen from the foregoing discussion, Latin *morus* regularly refers to lack of intelligence, and the same is usually true of *μωρός*. There are however passages in pseudo-Aristotle and the Hippocratic Corpus where *μωρός* and its derivatives refer to sluggishness or stupefaction.⁶⁵ A good illustration is the surprising statement attributed to

⁶⁰ 1263-4. On the tone of the passage, cf. Marouzeau, RPh 45.178 (1921).

⁶¹ Per. 49.

⁶² 514. Cf. Tri. 221-2: *Pauci sint faxim qui sciant quod nesciunt, / oclusio-remque habeant stultiloquentiam*; Mi. 296.

⁶³ Cf. Leo, GGA 1898.747; *Plautinische Forschungen*² 151 (Berlin, 1912); Preston, *Studies in the Diction of the Sermo Amatorius in Rom. Comedy* 26 (Univ. of Chicago diss., 1916).

⁶⁴ Mor. 504b. Cf. L-S⁹ s.v. *μωρολογέω*, and also Don. on Eun. 236: *Sed 'pannis et annis' morologiae parasitorum sunt*.

⁶⁵ Ps. Arist. H. A. 628a.6: *τοῦ γὰρ χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου μὲν μωροὶ γίνονται οἱ ἐργάται αὐτῶν* (i.e. *τῶν σφεκῶν*); Hipp. Genit. 2 (7.472 L): *τὰ νεῦρα σκληρὰ καὶ μωρὰ γενόμενα*; cf. Virg. 1 (8.466 L with Littré's note, p. 464); Prorrh. 1.32 (5.518 L), with Gal. ad loc., 16.575-6 K, Prorrh. 1.92 (5.534 L), with Gal. ad loc., 16.696 K. In the last three cases, stupor occasioned by illness is meant.

Aristotle that when any one takes hold of a goat's beard, all the other goats ἐστᾶσιν ὥσπερ μεμωρωμένοι βλέπονται εἰς ἐκείνην.⁶⁶ This association of ideas is found also in Sanskrit cognates of μωρός, but is not therefore necessarily Indo-European, as the notion of 'stupidity' may have been developed independently in the two languages.⁶⁷

The same conception of immobility as characteristic of the mentally deficient that we find in μωρός may be implied in a comparison with inanimate objects. Such a notion probably underlies *stolidus* and *stultus*, adjectives apparently related to *stolo* 'sucker', 'useless shoot from the stem of a plant'.⁶⁸ Some connotation of sluggishness or inertia is occasionally to be found in *stolidus*.⁶⁹ This is notably true of Catullus' poem which expresses the wish that a too careless husband may receive a ducking, 'si pote stolidum repente excitare veterum / et supinum animum in gravi derelinquere caeno.'⁷⁰ The same idea may be implicit in Palaestrio's remark about the soldier, 'Nullumst

⁶⁶ H. A. 610b.30 (reading ὅταν τις μᾶς λάβῃ); cf. Thompson ad loc. Pliny's interpretation of μεμωρωμένοι is shown by his translation, 'Ceterae stupentes spectant' (N. H. 8.204).

⁶⁷ Walde-P 2.303 sets up a base *mō(u)ro- : *mūro- 'stumpfsinnig, töricht' as the common source of μωρός and Skt. mūrā- 'stupid'. There is however no reason to separate mūrā- from mūr-ccati 'stiffen, coagulate', also 'become unconscious, faint', mūr-tā- 'stiff', also 'unconscious, numb', and mūr-khā- 'stupid', for which a base *merā- 'gerinnen' is assumed (2.280). In meaning and in form alike these words belong together, and can be explained as derived from the reduced grade *m̥r- of a dissyllabic base *merā- / *morā-, with Dehnstufe *m̥r(ə)- / *mōr(ə)-. The last-named form + the thematic vowel e/o would give μωρός. Cf. Bugge, KZ 19.446 (1870).

⁶⁸ Cf. E-M s.v.v.; Walde-P 2.644; Persson, Beiträge z. indog. Wortforschung 1.424 (Uppsala, 1912). For the Plautine words *stultiloquentia* and *stultiloquus*, see above 17. Cf. also *stultivividus*, Mi. 335.

⁶⁹ Similar examples of *stultus* are hard to find. Cf. perhaps Varr. Sat. 485: O stulta nostri pectoris dormitio / vigilabilis, quae me puellum impuberem / cepisti; Poe. 291-2: Nam tu es lapide silice stultior / qui hanc ames; Postum. Alb. fr. 2 ap. Macr. 3.20.5: Ea causa sese stultum brutumque faciebat. (Whether there was a Latin translation of Albinus, from which these words might be derived, is uncertain; cf. Schanz-H 1.177. If not, the phrasing is probably due to Macrobius' source, perhaps Verrius Flaccus; cf. Wessner, RE 14.185.) It may be noted in this connection that *stultus* is by far the more common of the two words; in Plautus for example there are only 9 cases of *stolidus* as against 110 of *stultus*, *stulte*, and *stultitia*. *Stupidus*, in which the notion of sluggishness is even more strongly felt, occurs only twice in Plautus.

⁷⁰ 17.24-5; cf. 21-2: Talis iste meus stupor nil videt, nihil audit; / ipse qui sit, utrum sit an non sit, id quoque nescit.

hoc stolidiu' saxum,'⁷¹ and in Tacitus' description of Agrippa Postumus as 'rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem.'⁷²

Such cases are however rare. As a rule, both *stolidus* and *stultus* refer to ordinary lack of intelligence, although in rare cases *stultus* is used where we should expect *insanus*.⁷³ The two words are joined in Megaronides' remark, 'Nihil est profecto stultius neque stolidius / neque mendaciloquius neque [adeo] argutum magis / . . . quam urbani adsidui cives quos scurras vocant.'⁷⁴ Seneca speaks of the 'stolidae regalia tempora vitae', meaning the reign of Claudius.⁷⁵ The parasite Gnatho, comparing his own fortunes with those of a less enterprising friend, concludes, 'Di immortales, homini homo quid praestat! stulto intellegens / quid interest!'⁷⁶ As terms of abuse, *stolidus* and especially *stultus* are frequent. 'Quid me aspectas, stolide?' says Mercury to Amphitruo, answering his knock at the door with scant politeness.⁷⁷ In a jealous rage, Encolpius accuses Ascylos of having slipped out of a lecture they had attended. 'Quid ego, homo stultissime, facere debui,' is the prompt rejoinder, 'cum fame morerer?'⁷⁸ More particularly do we find references to the *comicos stultos senes* of comedy.⁷⁹ As part of an elaborate comparison of his plot to the

⁷¹ Mi. 1024. Cf. Cic. Top. 59: Huius generis causarum . . . alia sunt quietia, nihil agentia, stolidia quodam modo; and Plin. N. H. 15.52.

⁷² Ann. 1.3.4.

⁷³ The best example is Ep. 138-40: ST. Desipiebam mentis quom illa scripta mittebam tibi. EP. Men piacularum oportet fieri ob stultitiam tuam / ut meum tergum tuae stultitiae subdas succidaneum? *Desipere* clearly refers to madness, not to stupidity, and Epidicus so understands it, for he goes on with the idea of a purificatory sacrifice (see below 60); but he refers to the condition as *stultitia* nevertheless. Cf. Mer. 932: sanus non es, 934: stultus es. Perhaps Am. 709: Num tibi aut stultitia accessit aut superat superbia? should be similarly interpreted. The verb *accedo* is used by medical writers and others to describe the onset of disease; cf. TLL 1.263.48-65. *Stultus* and *insanus* are however distinguished in Eun. 254: scitum hercle hominem! hic homines prorsum ex stultis insanos facit.

⁷⁴ Tri. 199-202. Cf. Val. Max. 6.9. ext. 3: Cimonis vero incunabula opinione stultitiae fuerunt referta . . . Itaque coegit eos stuporis semet ipsos damnare, qui eum stolidum crediderant.

⁷⁵ Apoc. 4.1.2.

⁷⁶ Eun. 232-3. Cf. H.T. 323; Apul. Apol. 24; Varr. Sat. 48.2; stultos contemnite docti; Sen. Apoc. 8.2: stulte stude, possibly proverbial (Otto 333).

⁷⁷ Am. 1028. Cf. 1026: Paene ecfregisti, fatue, foribus cardines; Au. 415; Caec. St. 77.

⁷⁸ Petr. 10.1; cf. 65.5.

⁷⁹ Caec. St. 243.

Trojan War, Chrysalus announces jubilantly, 'Nostro seni huic stolido, ei profecto nomen facio ego Ilio.'⁸⁰ Elsewhere the deceived old man ruefully applies the epithet to himself, when he finds out how he has been fooled. So Hegio complains, 'Ita mihi stolido susum vorsum os sublevare officii.'⁸¹

In other cases, it is possible to discern a special reference to bad judgment, although, naturally, no hard and fast lines can be drawn. Having secured money from his master with which to make some purchases, Sagaristio proclaims, 'Stultus, qui hoc mihi daret argentum, quocius ingenium noverat.'⁸² Pseudolus delivers himself of the philosophical reflection that a reputation for shrewdness is after all a matter of luck: 'Bene ubi quod scimus consilium accidisce, hominem catum / eum esse declaramus, stultum autem illum quoi vortit male.'⁸³ Equally sententious is Chremes' 'Sed tu quod cavere possis, stultum admittere est.'⁸⁴ More often however the idea that it is foolish to do a thing is expressed by *stultitia est facere aliquid*. Acroteleutium feels that to attempt a trick like passing herself off as a respectable matron would be *stultitia atque insipientia*, if she were not sure of her capacity for deceit.⁸⁵ There is a proverbial ring in 'Stultitias . . . venatum ducere invitas canes.'⁸⁶ A comparable idiom is *stulte facere*, which means 'to use poor judgment'.⁸⁷ Peniculus thinks that people who tie up their runaway slaves 'nimi' *stulte faciunt*—it would be so much more effective to feed them well.⁸⁸ The old courtesan Scapha remonstrates with her young charge for confining her attentions to one man: 'Equidem pol miror tam catam, tam doctam te et bene eductam / nunc stultam stulte facere,'⁸⁹ while Parmeno comments on another aspect of the question: 'Qui amat quoi odio ipse est, bis facere stulte duco; / laborem inanem ipse capit et illi molestiam adfert.'⁹⁰ The

⁸⁰ Ba. 945. Cf. 814, 1139.

⁸¹ Cap. 656. Cf. Ba. 1088, 1098, H.T. 876-8.

⁸² Per. 261. Cf. Tri. 954; Juv. 14.235-7.

⁸³ Ps. 681-2.

⁸⁴ Eun. 761.

⁸⁵ Mi. 878. Cf. Cas. 282, Ps. 576-7.

⁸⁶ St. 139. Cf. Otto 71.

⁸⁷ *Stulte* is occasionally so used with other verbs also; cf. Ep. 484-5; *Stulte datum / reor. Peccatum largiter*; Tri. 416-7; *Sero atque stulte, prius quod cautum oportuit, / postquam comedit rem, post rationem putat.*

⁸⁸ Men. 81. Cf. 701, Mi. 1376.

⁸⁹ Mo. 186-7.

⁹⁰ Hec. 343-4.

same expression may also refer to amorous dalliance. Bacchis tells Pistoclerus archly that of course if he tries anything out of the way in her house, she'll put a stop to it: 'Egomet, apud me si quid stulte facere cupias, prohibeam.'⁹¹ *Stultitia* likewise occurs in erotic contexts, and may denote merely the fact of being in love,⁹² but is often euphemistically used for the seduction of a girl or an intrigue with a courtesan.⁹³

Stulte fabulari on the other hand refers to impertinence. The contrast between acting and speaking foolishly is neatly brought out in Philto's reproach to Lesbonicus, who has treated him with extreme rudeness: 'Benigniorem, Lesbonice, te mihi / quam nunc experior esse confido fore; / nam et stulte facere et stulte fabularier, / utrumque Lesbonice, in aetate hau bonumst.'⁹⁴ Perhaps the same interpretation may be put upon the apology, 'Quaeso ignoscas si quid stulte dixi atque imprudens tibi,' which Messenio makes for his somewhat disrespectful language to the Epidamnian Menaechmus, although *stulte dicere* does not elsewhere have this sense.⁹⁵ Much the same idea is involved in *stultus* when it is used to describe Strabax, the adulescens rusticus of the Truculentus. Strabax is an uncouth individual with no manners and no feelings, intent only on making the smart city fellows look cheap. He is brutally lacking in consideration, not only for his father—the usual situation in comedy—but for his mother as well.⁹⁶ He speaks in short, abrupt sentences, and addresses his sweetheart as *amica*, not even *mea amica*, instead of with the customary endearing terms, *mea voluptas*, etc.⁹⁷ So when he bluntly states his intentions, 'Quamquam ego tibi videor stultus, gaudere aliqui me volo; / nam

⁹¹ Ba. 57; cf. 1013–4 and Preston 39. In Ps. 238 however *stulte facere* merely means 'to make a fool of one's self'. Cf. Morris ad loc.

⁹² Ci. 61, 62, 64, 76; cf. Mer. 26.

⁹³ Au. 752, Tru. 820, Mo. 1157; cf. possibly Tit. 95.

⁹⁴ Tri. 459–62. *Stulte facere* here refers specifically to riotous and extravagant living; cf. 507, 509, 1168; H.T. 961, 967.

⁹⁵ Men. 1073; cf. 1023 ff. The only other cases of the expression cited by the TLL s.v. *dicere* are Cic. De Orat. 2.274 and Quint. Inst. 6.3.7, which refer to silly remarks designed to cause a laugh; and Cic. De Orat. 2.301: *Homines enim imperiti facilius quod stulte dixeris reprehendere quam quod sapienter taceris laudare possunt*. In Cic. Caecin. 40, *stultius* is an adjective, not an adverb, as the TLL 5.973.6 implies.

⁹⁶ 645–62. Cf. however Ps. 122.

⁹⁷ 917: *Heus amica, quid agis?* 920: *Ades, amica, te adloquor*. *Amica* does not occur elsewhere in comedy as a vocative, except for Poe. 393, which is not parallel.

quamquam es bella, malo tu tuo, nisi ego aliqui gaudeo,' *stultus* seems to imply the absence of good breeding as much as of purely intellectual qualities.⁹⁸

Extremely interesting in this connection is Gellius' commentary on a fragment of Sallust's Histories: 'At Cn. Lentulus . . . perincertum stolidior an vanior, legem de pecunia . . . exigenda promulgavit.'⁹⁹ Gellius quotes Sulpicius Apollinaris to the effect that 'vanos proprie dici, non ut vulgus diceret, desipientis aut hebetes aut ineptos, sed, ut veterum doctissimi dixissent, mendaces et infidos et levia inaniaque pro gravibus et veris astutissime componentes; stolidos autem vocari non tam stultos et excordes quam taetros et molestos et inlepidos, quos Graeci *μοχθηροὺς καὶ φορτικοὺς* dicerent.'¹⁰⁰ The definitions—though not the reference to Sallust—may go back to Nigidius Figulus, who is mentioned in the same context.¹⁰¹ That in the fragment quoted there must be some distinction between the two words is certain, and the definition which Gellius reports for *vanus* is amply confirmed by actual citations,¹⁰² but for his interpretation of *stolidus* there seems to be no evidence, although there are, as we have seen, a few pertinent examples of *stultus*. It is perfectly possible to give *stolidus* the usual meaning, rejected by Gellius, and to translate 'whether through stupidity or deceit', the more especially as Cicero's estimate of Lentulus' oratory indicates that, though a popular speaker, he was actually far from intelligent.¹⁰³

The noun *stolo*, with which *stolidus* and *stultus* are connected, appears never itself to be used as an abusive epithet,¹⁰⁴ but many similar terms are, although the occurrences of any one word are comparatively few. *Frutex*, literally 'bush' or 'twig', 'shoot', is found once in Plautus and again in Apuleius' Apologia.¹⁰⁵ Terence has *caudex* 'tree trunk', 'log'

⁹⁸ 922-3. Cf. 950 and Ribbeck, *Agroikos* 25-6.

⁹⁹ Fr. 4.1 M.

¹⁰⁰ 18.4.10.

¹⁰¹ Fr. 34 Fun.

¹⁰² Cf. Non. 416.24 and the lexicons.

¹⁰³ Brut. 234. Cf. Münzer, RE 4.1381. Delmasso, *Athenaeum*, n.s. 3.30-2 (1925), discusses the passage, coming to the conclusion (31) that 'che i due aggettivi portino . . . le accezioni indicate da G., nessun dubbio (basta l'esame dei lessici).' He is unable however to adduce a single passage where *stolidus* is equivalent to *taeter et molestus*.

¹⁰⁴ Unless Auson, Epist. 4.94 (p. 249 Peiper) is to be read *potes o stolo* with Z.

¹⁰⁵ Mo. 13: Nec. veri simile loquere nec verum, frutex, addressed to a slave from the country, who answers (15-16), Tu urbanus vero scurra, deliciae popli / rus mihi tu obiectas? Cf. E. W. Fay, AJP 18.170-1 (1897); Apul. Apol. 66 fin.: Ne huic frutici credam non modo odium peccatorum, sed saltem intellectum inesse.

in a list of epithets 'quae sunt dicta in stulto',¹⁰⁶ and Trimalchio says his wife is a 'codex, non mulier'.¹⁰⁷ In the same list as *caudex*, stands its synonym *stipes*, which is also used several times by Cicero,¹⁰⁸ while one of the freedmen in Petronius' novel refers to a friend who has made a bad will as 'ille stips'.¹⁰⁹ The most interesting word of the class however is *vacerra*, which according to Festus originally meant a hitching post, but was also a term of reproach, as might be seen from Livius Andronicus' phrase, '<vacerra> corde et malefica vecordia'.¹¹⁰ Martial addresses four epigrams to a Vacerra, who is in one case represented as an admirer of early poets, and in the other three as a very poor man, but the name is probably not significant.¹¹¹ The only other reference to the word is Suetonius' statement that Augustus, among other colloquialisms, always wrote *vacerrosus* instead of *cerritus*.¹¹²

More frequent than any of these words is *lapis*, which may signify hardness of heart,¹¹³ but also refers to folly.¹¹⁴ A bit of repartee from the Poenulus illustrates both ideas. Agorastocles reflects admiringly that his sweetheart 'lapidem silicem subigere ut se amet potest.' To which Milphio mercilessly replies, 'Pol idquidem hau mentire, nam tu es lapide silice stultior / qui hanc ames'.¹¹⁵ The idea of motionlessness as well as stupidity is seen in Syrus' impatient query to Clitipho, who is so amazed by his father's offer of money that he cannot even stretch out his hand to take it. 'I,' says Syrus, 'quid stas, lapis? / quin accipis?'¹¹⁶ Laches on the other hand wrathfully says his wife must consider him to be 'lapidem, non hominem' if she supposes he does not know what goes on at home during his absence.¹¹⁷ The figure is amplified in Palaestrio's uncomplimentary description of the soldier, 'Eru'

¹⁰⁶ H.T. 877.

¹⁰⁷ Petr. 74.13.

¹⁰⁸ Pis. 19, Har. Resp. 5, P. Red. Sen. 14; cf. Otto s.v.

¹⁰⁹ 43.5; cf. Friedländer ad loc.

¹¹⁰ Fr. 6 ap. Fest. 512.30 (GL 4.463, q.v.). Cf. Colum. 6.19.2, 9.1.3, 9. For his two definitions, Festus cites as his authorities the Republican grammarians Aelius Stilo (fr. 77 Fun.) and Ateius Philologus (fr. 9 Fun.), respectively. The fragment of Livius is quoted according to Lindsay's reconstruction of the text (see his note on the whole passage), rather than from Ribbeck.

¹¹¹ 8.69, 9.66, 77, 12.32. Cr. Friedländer, M. Val. Mart. Epigr. Lib. 1.21-3 (Leipzig, 1886).

¹¹² Aug. 87.2. See below 64-5.

¹¹³ E.g. Tib. 1.10.59; cf. 1.1.63-4.

¹¹⁴ So does *λῆθος*; cf. Nub. 1202, with Starkie's note.

¹¹⁵ 290-2.

¹¹⁶ H.T. 831-2.

¹¹⁷ Hec. 214. Cf. H.T. 917, Mer. 630-2.

meus elephanti corio circumtentust, non suo, / neque habet plus sapientiai quam lapis.¹¹⁸

Other Schimpfwörter are derived from the names of plants or animals. The only plants to which foolish persons seem to be compared are the gourd, *cucurbita*, and the mushroom, *fungus*.¹¹⁹ Trimalchio, in his exposition of astrology, says that under *Aquarius copones et cucurbitae* are born.¹²⁰ That persons governed by *Aquarius* were supposed to suffer from mental defects we learn from other astrological documents, and *cucurbita* was probably chosen, rather than some other word for 'fool', because it also meant 'cupping glass', and *Aquarius* was considered particularly favorable to bloodletting. Since moreover gourds require much moisture and are watery inside, there is probably a triple pun in the passage.¹²¹ The only other occurrence of the word is a phrase in Apuleius, '*Nos cucurbitae caput non habemus*,' where *cucurbitae* is probably to be taken as an appositive genitive.¹²² All the examples of *fungus* used as a derogatory epithet are from the *Bacchides*, and refer to the old man *Nicobulus*. *Chrysalus*' description of him shows the idea involved: '*Terrai <iam> odium ambulat, iam nil sapit / nec sentit, tantist quantist fungus putidus*.'¹²³ Both of these words were in all probability humorous designations for the head, and were applied to a man by metonymy.¹²⁴

Animals furnish more comparisons for the stupid than do plants. Though *bestia* is never so used, *belua*, which often serves as a term of abuse, occasionally implies lack of intelligence, e.g. '*Ne tu me edepol arbitrare beluam, / qui quidem non novisse possim quicum aetatem exegerim*.'¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ *Mi.* 235-6. Semantically comparable to *lapis* are the rare words *rupe*x (Lucil., Gell., Tert.) and *petro*. Cf. Fest. 226.23: *Petrones rustici fere dicuntur propter vetustatem et quod deterrima quaeque ac praeruptus . . . iam (leg. praeruptissima) agri petrae vocantur, ut rupices idem a rupibus*. Lindsay suggests (GL 4.315) that this item may be derived from a commentary on Lucil. 1121, q.v., with Marx's note. The word also occurs in *Cap.* 820-2; cf. Lindsay ad loc.

¹¹⁹ *Terrae tuber*, Petr. 58.4, may also imply stupidity, and is the source of the Italian dial. *tartufo* 'dummer Kerl', ML 8966.

¹²⁰ Petr. 39.12.

¹²¹ De Vreese, *Petron 39 u. die Astrologie* 183, 191-8 (Amsterdam, 1927).

¹²² Met. 1.15. Cf. Goldberger, *Glotta* 18.27 (1929-30).

¹²³ 820-1. Cf. 283: *Adeon me fuisse fungum ut qui illi crederem*; 1088: *stolidi, fatui, fungi*.

¹²⁴ On *cucurbita*, cf. Goldberger, *Glotta* 18.26-8. The same reasoning holds good for *fungus*, which he does not mention.

¹²⁵ Tri. 952-3. Cf. Ph. 601-2: *Sed quid pertimui autem belua? / an quia quos*

Among proverbially stupid animals, the sheep and the donkey take first place.¹²⁶ A Peripatetic writer describes the sheep as *εῦθες καὶ ἀνόητον*, and the same conception was echoed in ordinary speech.¹²⁷ Sophoclidisca declares that in five years, 'Ovi' si in ludum iret, potuisset iam fieri ut probe litteras sciret.¹²⁸ The figure is elaborately worked out in a scene of the Bacchides where for several lines the two courtesans discuss the old men as though they were sheep for the shearing.¹²⁹ A reference to sheep is probably also to be seen in passages where *pecus* is used as a term of abuse.¹³⁰ In later texts, we find the same notion expressed by *vervex*.¹³¹ Juvenal points out that distinguished men may be born even 'vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere'—that is, in Abdera.¹³² It is possible that Petronius may offer another term belonging to the same semantic category. In the freed-

fallam pro uno duo sunt mihi dati? and perhaps Laber. 92: bipedem bliteam beluam. On Cic. P. Red. Sen. 14 and other passages in Cic., cf. Klotz, Glotta 6.212-4 (1914-5). Elsewhere moral faults are meant: in Mo. 569, 607, 619, *belua* refers to a money lender; in Ru. 543 (cf. 886), to a procurer; in Apul. Apol. 59, to a drunkard.

¹²⁶ Nor must the pig be overlooked; cf. Mi. 587 (Otto 336), Cic. Div. 1.23, and esp. the proverb *sus Minervam* (Otto 224).

¹²⁷ Ps. Arist. H.A. 610b.23; cf. Plin N.H. 8.199: Quoniam (*v.l.* quam) stultissima animalia lanata; Otto 260-1. In other cases, gentleness is the characteristic quality (Otto 261). For Greek examples, cf. Plutus 922, Nub. 1203, Vesp. 32 with Starkie's note, and Gerhard, Phoinix von Kolophon 26-7 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1909).

¹²⁸ Per. 173.

¹²⁹ 1121a-48 (cf. Brotherton, Vocab. of Intrigue 50-1). Cf. Mer. 524; Prop. 2.16.8.

¹³⁰ Acc. Praet. 32-4: Proin vide, ne quem tu esse hebetem deputes aeque ac pecus, / is sapientia munitum pectus egregie gerat / teque regno expellat; Hor. Epist. 1.19.19; Cic. Phil. 2.30: Sed stuporem hominis, vel dicam pecudis attendite; Att. 1.16.6; Tac. Ann. 13.1.1. For *pecus*, -oris and *pecus*, -udis 'sheep', cf. E-M s.v. and the lexicons; also v. Wartburg, Abh. preuss. Akad. 1918, no. 10, pp. 7-8.

¹³¹ Literally 'wether'; in Cas. 535 and Mer. 567 (where see Enk's note), impotence is the tertium comparationis. Perhaps however no stress need be laid on the technical sense of *vervex* in interpreting passages where it means 'fool'. In France at least, from the fifth century A.D. it meant 'sheep' generally (cf. v. Wartburg 27-9), and the change may well have taken place earlier and over a wider territory.

¹³² 10.50. Cf. Mayor ad loc. and Petr. 57.2 *berbex*, with Friedländer's note. The abusive epithet *vervecem marinum* in Sen. Const. Sap. 17.1, however, quoted both by Mayor and by Otto 260, refers not to the sheep, but to a sea monster, perhaps the killer whale, concerning which weird tales were told; cf. Opp. Hal. 5.34, with Mair's note.

man's ejaculation, 'Bella res et iste, qui te haec docet, mufrius non magister,'¹³³ why may not the much disputed word *mufrius* be related to *mufro*, found in Polemius Silvius' list of animals,¹³⁴ and the source of several Romance words designating a kind of wild sheep?¹³⁵

The donkey seems generally to have had a bad reputation in the ancient as in the modern world, and is the subject of numerous proverbs and proverbial expressions.¹³⁶ His stupidity, among other characteristics, is noted by the physiognomists, who describe as mentally slow or foolish persons whose features in certain ways more or less remotely resemble his.¹³⁷ The hero of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* constantly plays upon the donkey's lack of intelligence, suggesting that a rash notion of his is an 'inepta et prorsus asinina cogitatio',¹³⁸ and stressing the fact that, although a 'perfectus asinus', he is still possessed of human feeling and human intellect.¹³⁹ The word *asinus* appears occasionally as an abusive epithet in contexts where stupidity is clearly implied. Cicero calls himself an *asinum germanum* for not taking Atticus' advice, and denounces Piso in much the same terms.¹⁴⁰ There are also scattered cases in comedy.¹⁴¹ Two similar references to the mule occur, Catullus' 'Mule nihil sentis',¹⁴² and the 'declamatoris mulino corde

¹³³ 58.13. Cf. Walde s.v. *mufrius*, Ernout, *Les éléments dial. du vocab. lat.* 199 (Paris, 1909), and A.H. Salonijs, *Die Griechen u. das Griechische in Petrons Cena Trimalchionis*, in *Soc. Sc. Fenn. Comm. Hum. Litt.*, 2.1. p. 23, n.3 (1927-9).

¹³⁴ Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* (Mon. Germ. Hist. 9) 1.543.10 (Berlin, 1892). The MS has *mufro*, probably an error.

¹³⁵ M-L 5715; Ernout, *Élém. dial.* 200. Bottiglioni, *I Nomi del Mufone e i Riflessi I-E della Radice Mu* (Ann. d. Fac. di Lett. d. R. Univ. di Cagliari 1-2, 1926-7) 88-9, connects *mufro* and *mufrius*, but interprets the latter as 'chiacchierone', arguing that both terms, as well as a large number of other Latin and Greek words, are derived from an onomatopoetic root **mu-*. Even if this fantastic etymology were correct it would not affect the explanation of *mufrius* given in the text.

¹³⁶ Cf. Otto s.v. *asinus*, and for Greek material Olck, *RE* 6.646-50, and Gerhard, *Phoenix* v. Kolophon 26. Note esp. the phrase *ὄνος λύρας* (sc. *ἀκούων*), which refers to a person without an ear for music. This was the title of one of Varro's Menippean Satires. Cf. also Varro. *Sat.* 543.

¹³⁷ Cf. Olck, *RE* 6.635.

¹³⁸ 6.26. Cf. 7.21, 10.13.

¹³⁹ 3.26; cf. 4.1.6, 9.13.

¹⁴⁰ *Att.* 4.5.3, *Pis.* 73: *Quid nunc te, asine, litteras doceam?* Cf. *De Orat.* 2.267. It is interesting to note that *asinus* was a thoroughly prosaic word, being all but banished from classical poetry. Cf. Housman, *CQ* 24.11-3 (1930). *Asellus*, the poetic term, does not seem to connote stupidity.

¹⁴¹ *H.T.* 877, *Eun.* 598, *Ad.* 935; cf. *Ps.* 136.

¹⁴² 83.3; cf. *vs.* 2: *illi fatuo*. Garrod, *CR* 33.67-8 (1919), would see in *mule* not

Vagelli' with which Juvenal compares any one so foolish as to bring suit against a soldier.¹⁴³

In this connection mention should also be made of the cuckoo. As a term of abuse, *cuculus* is practically confined to comedy.¹⁴⁴ In one passage, it refers to an old man engaged in a discreditable love affair.¹⁴⁵ Other cases involve the utter lack of common sense displayed by a young man in love. Calidorus, for example, swears that without his sweetheart he will absolutely be unable to survive. Pseudolus is unimpressed. 'Quid fles, cucule?' he says, 'Vives.'¹⁴⁶ In the exchange of compliments between Paegnium and Sagaristio in the *Persa*, on the other hand, *cucule* probably means 'chatterbox'.¹⁴⁷ It has been suggested that *cuculus* when used metaphorically represents κόκκυξ, but it is hard to find a good parallel. The ancient accounts of the bird emphasize its slyness and cowardice, and say nothing of stupidity or salaciousness.¹⁴⁸

In addition to the names of plants, and of animals to which a certain moral character is ascribed, there are adjectives denoting some undesirable quality of a particular class of inanimate objects. Such a word is *ineptus*, the negative of *aptus*, which means 'fitted', both literally and figuratively.¹⁴⁹ *Ineptus* however is almost entirely restricted to

a slight on Metellus' intelligence, but a pun on his name; the evidence is not conclusive, and even if there is such a pun, the meaning of the insult remains the same. Cf. Mo. 778-82.

¹⁴³ 16.23.

¹⁴⁴ The only exception appears to be Hor. Sat. 1.7.31, where the bearing of the word is uncertain; the explanation of Wickham and of Kiessling-Heinze, based on Plin. N.H. 18.249, sounds far-fetched; cf. Morris ad loc.

¹⁴⁵ As. 923, 934.

¹⁴⁶ Ps. 96; cf. Tri. 245.

¹⁴⁷ 282.

¹⁴⁸ Ps. Arist. H. A. 618a.25-30; Ael. N. A. 3.30. Cf. Todesco, Philol. 73.563-7 (1914-6). Hofmann, Lat. Umgangssprache 87 (Heidelberg, 1926), followed by the sixth edition of Brix-Niemeyer (1931) on Tri. 245, refers to Ach. 598; the exact force of κόκκυγες in this passage is not clear, but the point of the joke is probably to be found in the shrill cry of the cuckoo (cf. Starkie ad loc.). Per. 282 is comparable, but the other examples of *cuculus* are not. In Plat. Com. 64.3 ἀβελτεροκόκκυξ means 'supposititious child' (Todesco, 564) rather than 'a silly fellow' as L-S² has it. In English on the other hand, the cuckoo used to be considered typical of stupidity; cf. NED, s.v., and also s.v. *gowk*. The American slang use of cuckoo as an adjective meaning 'crazy' is not noted in the dictionaries.

¹⁴⁹ Ptc. from *apere* 'to bind'; cf. Walde-H s.v. Usually 'fitted' to a particular thing; the absolute construction is relatively infrequent, and the word does not seem to have the meaning 'clever' in classical Latin. The earliest clear case is probably Sidon. Carm. 23.210. Cf. TLL 2.333.84-334.16.

figurative usage.¹⁵⁰ Cicero defines it as 'lacking in good breeding', and goes on to say that the Greeks, although abundantly endowed with the quality, have no name for it.¹⁵¹ An example of this use of *ineptus* may be found in a passage of the Rudens, where Daemones comes out of the house exclaiming in disgust: 'Uxor complexa collo retinet filiam. / nimi' paene inepta atque odiosa eius amatiost.'¹⁵² Slightly different is the moral reproach implied by the word in several passages of the Adelphoe, where it is used by Demea or by the slave Syrus, who pretends to agree with him, to describe Micio's free and easy attitude toward the dissipated life led by his adopted son. To the puritanical Demea, such indulgence implies a disregard of parental obligations that is both wrong and foolish.¹⁵³

The notion of bad manners is not however necessarily involved in the epithet, which may be suggested by any remark or action that is absurd or unreasonable, or does not seem to fit the circumstances.¹⁵⁴ A good example is the passage in the Mostellaria in which Tranio tries to convince Theopropides that his house is haunted. He explains that Theopropides' son has seen a ghost in a dream, and begins to report the conversation that took place. 'In a dream?' asks Theopropides, incredulous. 'Well I suppose a man who was killed sixty years ago would appear in broad daylight', is the sarcastic rejoinder. 'Interdum inepte

¹⁵⁰ Cat. 17.2-3: *inepta crura ponticuli* (cf. Kroll ad loc.) seems to be the only exception. The semantic development of *ineptus* is somewhat parallel to that of ἀνάμυστος; cf. Nub. 908 and Starkie ad loc.

¹⁵¹ De Orat. 2.17: Quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, is mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quod non sit aptus, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlate patet; nam qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt aut plura loquitur aut se ostentat aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur. Cf. ibid. 16; Apul. Apol. 11: Sed sumne ineptus qui haec etiam in iudicio?

¹⁵² 1203-4. Cf. Ad. 271, Eun. 741, 1007; Cat. 12.4, 39.16; Petr. 110.1.

¹⁵³ 63, 375, 390, 430, 749. Conversely, from the point of view of an impecunious young man, a stern father may be *ineptus*, if he objects to being cheated out of money. Cf. Sext. Turp. 35.

¹⁵⁴ *Ineptus* and its derivatives often refer specifically to the usual absurd conduct of lovers. Cf. Mer. 381; Eun. 227; Cat. 8.1; Tib. 1.4.24; Ov. Ars 1.306; Mart. 1.68.8, and Pichon s.v. In Cat. 6.14 and Ps. Tib. (Sulpicia) 4.10.2, however, *ineptus* has a more drastic force. *Ineptia* appears next to *stultitia* in the list of love's disadvantages, Mer. 26, where, according to Preston 9, it is a variety of ἐρωτομαρτία. It might better be called a symptom. There seems to be no Greek equivalent.

stultus es.¹⁵⁵ In repartee, *ineptus* becomes practically equivalent to *insanus*,¹⁵⁶ while *ineptiae* are usually 'trifles', unworthy of serious consideration.¹⁵⁷ In other cases, a foolish notion is described as *ineptus*. Thus the young man Pamphilus, so he tells the audience, was simply thunderstruck when his father told him that he was to be married at once. He could not think of a single excuse to offer, no matter how absurd or untrue or inappropriate, 'ullam causam, ineptam saltem falsam iniquam'.¹⁵⁸

In *gurdus* and in *hebes*, the metaphor is derived from a dull weapon. The earliest example of *gurdus* is a fragment of Laberius, 'Hic est / ille gurdus, quem ego me abhinc menses duos ex Africa / venientem excepisse tibi narravi', quoted by Gellius expressly to illustrate the author's use of 'obsoleta (sc. verba) et maculantia ex sordidiore vulgi usu'.¹⁵⁹ Quintilian's testimony points in the same direction: 'Gurdos, quos pro stolidis accipit vulgus, ex Hispania duxisse originem audivi'.¹⁶⁰ The etymology of the word has been much disputed,¹⁶¹ but the metaphor which it involves is made clear by a passage in Lucifer of Calaris, to which attention was first called by Löfstedt: 'Stat semper nempe gladii tui acies stricta parata Christianorum neci, et tamen omni plumbo gurdior esse nobis videtur iste mucro gladii tui, sicut et acies animae tuae'.¹⁶² In confirmation of this explanation, it may be noted that,

¹⁵⁵ 495. Cf. Caec. St. 68; And. 791, Ph. 949, etc. Elsewhere *ineptus* is used subjectively by a person who knows that what he is doing is ridiculous and illogical, e.g. Hec. 802; Tri. 1149; Sext. Turp. 16.

¹⁵⁶ Ph. 420, Ad. 934. See below 71-2.

¹⁵⁷ Caec. St. 281 ap. Sen. Ep. 113.26 (where Beltrami reads, with the best MSS, *Caelianum*, and attributes the quotation to the orator Caelius Rufus); Ph. 648; Cic. Tusc. 2.29; Petr. 52.10; Mart. 2.86.10; Apul. Met. 2.23. An author might refer deprecatingly to his own work as *ineptiae*; cf. Cat. 14a.1; Mart. 11.1.14; Cic. De Orat. 1.111.

¹⁵⁸ And. 257. Cf. H.T. 1005; Ad. 944; Petr. 132.16; Apul. Met. 6.26; Inepta et prorsus asinina cogitatio; 10.22; Apol. 3.27.

¹⁵⁹ Laber. 13 ap. Gell. 16.7.4, 8.

¹⁶⁰ Inst. 1.5.57. Cf. Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1.27.2: Sed dum cogito me hominem Galum inter Aquitanos verba facturum, vereor ne offendat vestras nimium urbanas aures sermo rusticior. Audietis me tamen ut Gurdonicum hominem, nihil cum fuco aut cothurno loquentem.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Walde-H s.v. The word is probably 'Spanish'—or at least non Indo-European—in origin, as Quintilian says, but was fully acclimated at Rome in the first century B.C.

¹⁶² Mor. Esse Pro Dei Fil. 8 (p. 301.27-32 H.). Cf. Löfstedt, Eranos 10.164 (1910); Schöll, IF 31.313-7 (1912).

although the Romance derivatives convey the idea of fatness or stiffness rather than of dullness, *gurdus* serves to define *hebes* in the Abolita Glossary.¹⁶³

Just as Lucifer speaks of the 'gurdior acies animae', so *hebes*, even when used figuratively of the intellect, may be contrasted with *acutus* and with *acer*.¹⁶⁴ It differs sharply from *gurdus* however in that it is common in classical prose, and, though found in Cicero's letters to Atticus,¹⁶⁵ does not occur in comedy or in Petronius, and does not survive in the Romance languages. The most interesting example is also the earliest. In a fragment of Accius' praetexta entitled Brutus, we read that Tarquin had a dream, in which after sacrificing the better of two rams he was set upon by the survivor and knocked down.¹⁶⁶ The court soothsayers gave the following interpretation: 'Proin vide ne quem tu esse hebetem deputes aequae ac pecus / is sapientia munitum pectus egregie gerat / teque regno expellat.'¹⁶⁷ The reference is obviously to Brutus, who 'ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiae cum se suaque praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuat cognomen.'¹⁶⁸

The word *brutus* itself, on the connection of which with the proper name Livy plays in the passage just quoted, belongs in this category of expressions. In a few passages it has the concrete meaning 'heavy',¹⁶⁹ but much more often it refers to persons and means 'stupid'. *Brutus* has this sense in a fragment of Naevius, 'quod bruti nec satis sardare queunt',¹⁷⁰ and in Pacuvius' description of Fortune, 'Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi . . . brutam quia

¹⁶³ EV 21 (GL 3.123 = CGL 4.66, 29); cf. Abstrusa GU 3 (GL 3.44 = CGL 4.84.28), with Thomson's note, and Aa OB 275 (GL 5.307 = CGL 5.470.63), with Theander's note. On the Romance words, cf. M-L 3920.

¹⁶⁴ Cic. Div. 2.103: O acutos homines . . . Videsne Epicurum quem hebetem et rudem dicere solent Stoici; De Orat. 2.357: Neque tam acri memoria . . . neque vero tam hebeti. For examples of the literal meaning of *hebes* see the dictionaries. The etymology is uncertain; cf. Walde-H s.v.

¹⁶⁵ 9.17.2: Tu quaeso, cogita quid deinde: nam me hebetem molestiae reddiderunt. Cf. Cael. ap. Cic. Fam. 8.13.1.

¹⁶⁶ Praet. 17-28.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. 32-4. Note that *hebes* is contrasted with *sapiens* and by inference made synonymous with *pecus* 'sheep' and *brutus*.

¹⁶⁸ Liv. 1.56.8; cf. Ov. F. 2.717, 837; Postum. Albin. fr. 2 Peter ap. Macr. 3.20.5 (see above p. 18 n. 69); Macr. 1.12.32. In Cic. Att. 6.1.25 and 14.14.2 there is a similar pun on the name of the conspirator Marcus Brutus.

¹⁶⁹ Lucr. 6.105-6; Hor. Od. 1.34.9 (see Kiessling-Heinze ad loc.); Apu. Socr. 4, p. 10.17 T.; 9, p. 17.12 T.; P. Fest. 28.23, 201.29. Cf. Walde-H s.v.

¹⁷⁰ Pun. 55 (53).

*dignum atque indignum nequeat internoscere.*¹⁷¹ Apuleius represents Tlepolemus as modestly offering a suggestion to the robbers with the words, 'Non sum quidem tam brutus vel certe temerarius ut scitum vestrum inhibeam.'¹⁷²

Since for us the distinguishing characteristic of lead is its weight, we might be inclined to see in *plumbeus* 'stupid', cited from Terence and Cicero,¹⁷³ the same metaphor that we find in *brutus*. This is not however necessarily the case. A leaden sword was a proverbial expression for a useless weapon, which suggests that it may have been rather the notion of dullness or perhaps of ineffectiveness that was involved in the figure.¹⁷⁴

Some important expressions are derived from the notion of tastelessness or lack of flavor. A sort of salad vegetable called *blitum* (from *βλίτον*) is the source of *bliteus*, a term of abuse found in Plautus and Laberius.¹⁷⁵ Much more common is *insulsus*, which, as the negative of *salsus*, literally means 'unsalted', referring to food, and is so used by technical writers and the Church Fathers.¹⁷⁶ Figuratively, *insulsus* applies to foolish or stupid persons. Catullus says that a man of his acquaintance, who does not look after his young wife properly, 'insulsissimus est homo, nec sapit pueri instar'.¹⁷⁷ The braggart soldier, completely taken in by Milphidippa's flattery, remarks complacently, 'Non insulsum huic ingenium'.¹⁷⁸ Charmides puns on the literal sense

¹⁷¹ 366-71. Cf. 176.

¹⁷² Met. 7.9. For the numerous examples from the Church Fathers, cf. TLL s.v.

¹⁷³ H.T. 877; Cic. Tusc. 1.71. Cf. Licinius Crassus ap. Suet. Nero 2.2: Non esse mirandum, quod aeneam barbam haberet, cui os ferreum, cor plumbeum esset. Cf. Otto s.v. and Sutphen, Collection of Latin Proverbs 363 s.v. *plumbum* (Baltimore, 1902, reprinted from AJP 22 [1901]).

¹⁷⁴ E.g. Cic. Att. 1.16.2: Illum plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri; Fin. 4.48. Cf. Otto s.v. Weight is however the tertium comparationis in Ep. 627 and Poe. 812-3: Si quid bene facias, levior pluma est gratia, / si quid peccatumst, plumbeas iras gerunt. In such phrases as *plumbea vina* (Mart. 10.49.5) the figure is derived from the use of lead in counterfeit coins: cf. Lorenz on Mo. 892.

¹⁷⁵ Tru. 854: Blitea et luteast meretrix nisi quae sapit in vino ad rem suam; Laber. 92: Bipedem bliteam beluam. Cf. Nub. 1001, *βλιτομάμμαν*, with Starkie's note; Menand. 955 K; Persson, Beiträge 1.213; Walde-H s.v. *blitum*. In Cas. 748 (cf. Leo ad loc. and Diph. 14.3-4), *bliteus* refers to food.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Georges s.v.

¹⁷⁷ 17.12. Cf. 37.6; Eun. 1079.

¹⁷⁸ Mi. 1071. In the technical language of rhetoric, *insulsus* means 'lacking in wit'; cf. Cic. De Orat. 2.217: Inveni autem ridicula et salsa multa Graecorum (nam et Siculi in eo genere et Rhodii et Byzantii et praeter ceteros Attici excel-

when he says to Labrax, who has just been shipwrecked through following his advice, 'Bonam est quod habeas gratiam merito mihi, / quite ex insulso salsum feci opera mea'.¹⁷⁹ In other cases, *insulsus* seems to convey the idea of an annoying lack of good sense or proper behavior. Petronius twice applies the epithet *insulsissimus* to purveyors of boring entertainment,¹⁸⁰ and Catullus upbraids the girl who called his bluff about the 'octo homines rectos' with the words: 'Sed tu insulsa male ac molesta vivis, / per quam non licet esse neglegentem.'¹⁸¹

Unlike *salsus*, *sapere* is a general term, meaning merely 'to have some flavor', which then requires to be further defined. Cato says that under certain conditions, 'Oleum male sapiet',¹⁸² and Juvenal complains that to the Roman noble, 'Nil rhombus, nil damma sapit', unless his furniture and plate be of the most luxurious.¹⁸³ The use of *sapere*, and particularly of *sapiens* and *sapientia*, to denote wisdom is too well known to require comment,¹⁸⁴ but the negatives *insipiens* and *insipientia* may be briefly discussed.¹⁸⁵ Both words, though relatively uncommon, are used very much as are *stultus* and *stultitia*. In the prologue to the *Amphitruo*, Mercury declares that he is making a fair request of a fair audience, 'nam iniusta ab iustis impetrari non decet, / iusta autem ab iniustis petere insipientia est'.¹⁸⁶ Myrrha calls Cleustrata a fool, 'insipidiens', for opposing her husband's love affairs,¹⁸⁷ and Olympio, feeling chagrined for the first time in his life, puts himself in the same class: 'Sed ego insipiens nova nunc facio; pudet quem prius non pudistumst umquam'.¹⁸⁸ In one passage, we have *insipienter facere* as a euphemistic expression for an attack on a girl.¹⁸⁹

lunt); sed qui eius rei rationem quandam conati sunt artemque tradere, sic insulsi exstiterunt, ut nihil aliud eorum nisi ipsa insulstas rideatur; Tusc. 1.15: Sed tu mihi videris Epicharmi, acuti nec insulsi hominis ut Siculi, sententiam sequi.

¹⁷⁹ Ru. 516-7; cf. Poe. 241-6.

¹⁸⁰ 23.2, 53.11.

¹⁸¹ 10.33-4.

¹⁸² RR 66.1.

¹⁸³ 11.121.

¹⁸⁴ For a brief account of all these words and their derivatives, cf. E-M s.v. *sapio*. It is likely that *sapere*, from referring to the taste of food etc., came to denote the sense of taste and then to be equivalent to the French *avoir du goût*, English *to have good taste*; cf. Cat. 43.7-8: Tecum Lesbia nostra comparatur? / O saeculum insapiens et infacetum!

¹⁸⁵ The form *nesapius* (patterned after *nescius*?) is also found in Petr. 50.5, q.v., with Friedländer's note. Cf. also E-M s.v. *sapio*.

¹⁸⁶ 35-6; cf. Mi. 878, Poe. 1090, Ps. 448.

¹⁸⁷ Cas. 208-9.

¹⁸⁸ Cas. 878; cf. Ps. 908, Tri. 929, 936, 1057.

¹⁸⁹ Tru. 827. Cf. *stultitia* above, v. 21.

Sapere is however occasionally less positive, and may mean merely 'to be in one's right mind'.¹⁹⁰ For this sense, the negative is *desipere*, which generally refers to madness.¹⁹¹ It is technically used by Celsus for the delirium brought about by fever, and some manifestations of *phrenesis*.¹⁹² Horace says that Ajax 'cum immeritos occidit desipit agnos.'¹⁹³ Especially does *desipere* denote senile dementia, as in Cicero's report of the story that in his old age, Sophocles was summoned into court 'ut . . . illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices'.¹⁹⁴ Of course real insanity is not always involved. Stratipocles, after having written Epidicus to buy a certain flute-girl and then fallen in love with somebody else, airily explains the situation, 'Desipiebam mentis quom illa scripta mittebam tibi.'¹⁹⁵ In Lucretius and in the philosophical writings of Cicero, *desipere* is often applied to the advocates of opposing theories. Lucretius declares scornfully that to suppose the origin of language is to be sought in the person of a 'founder' who assigned each thing its name, 'desiperest',¹⁹⁶ while Cicero asks, if you do not believe that this magnificent structure of the universe had a builder, 'Nonne plane desipere videare?'¹⁹⁷

There is one other word that might possibly be classified with *insulsus* and *insipiens*, although the connection is very doubtful. *Fatuus*

¹⁹⁰ Am. 448: Sane sapio et sentio; Cels. 3.18.3: Phrenesis . . . est cum continua dementia esse incipit, cum aeger, quamvis adhuc sapiat, tamen quasdam vanas imagines accipit. *Resipiscere* may mean 'to recover one's senses': H.T. 844; Apul. Met. 8.31.

¹⁹¹ The adjective *desipiens* may be used in a weaker sense: cf. Cic. Fam. 3.8.4; Gell. 18.4.10: 'Vanos' proprie dici, non ut vulgus diceret, desipientes aut hebetes aut ineptos.

¹⁹² 3.18.2: Interdum in accessione aegros desipere et loqui aliena; ibid. 3: Ex phreneticis . . . alii facilius continentur et intra verba desipiunt; ibid. 4. Cf. ibid. 19: quidam imaginibus, non mente falluntur . . . quidam animo desipiunt.

¹⁹³ Sat. 2.3.211. In Lucr. 3.490 *desipit* refers to a man suffering from an epileptic fit.

¹⁹⁴ Senect. 22. Cf. Apul. Apol. 37. The Greek name of the action referred to is *δίκη παραβολας* (Beauchet, Hist. du droit privé de la rép. ath. 2.382-92 [Paris, 1897]), usually translated in the declamations by *dementia*, e.g. Sen. Contr. 2.3. tit. et passim. Cf. Audibert, NRD 14.558-62 (1890) = Études sur l'hist. du droit rom. I, La folie et la prodigalité 163-7 (Paris, 1892). In Sen. Contr. 10.3.7 *desipere* is used in the same sense. Cf. also Cic. Fam. 1.9.18; Juv. 6.612 and Gell. 1.19.4.

¹⁹⁵ Ep. 138. Cf. Cic. Fam. 7.28.1; Verr. 2.5.123; Planc. 90.

¹⁹⁶ 5.1043. Cf. 165, 3.802.

¹⁹⁷ N.D. 2.17. Cf. 2.16, 1.94: Summos viros desipere, delirare, dementes esse dicebas; 1.123; Ac. 2.119, 123, Div. 2.51; Hor. Sat. 2.3.47.

means both 'tasteless' and 'stupid', but the latter seems to be the earlier sense, and a different line of development is therefore indicated.¹⁹⁸

In the Germanic languages, the madman is often compared to something twisted or tangled,¹⁹⁹ and the same idea is found in a passage of the *Amphitruo*. Fully convinced that Alcmena is crazy, *Amphitruo* asks her, 'Ubi primum tibi sensisti, mulier, impliciscier?'²⁰⁰ Aside from the glossary citations, which are of no help,²⁰¹ the verb *implicisci* occurs again only in the letters of *Fronto*, where it means 'to suffer from the cold'.²⁰² A similar conception may be seen in *implicare*, which does not, it is true, seem to describe madness, but does sometimes mean 'to confuse',²⁰³ while the phrase *morbo implicitus* is rather frequent.²⁰⁴

The technical language of agriculture is represented by *delirare*, said of oxen which do not keep to a straight line during the final plowing or ridging (*lirare*) by which the seed is covered up, but, except for the notices of antiquarians, almost always found in the figurative sense, 'to be mad'.²⁰⁵ While, as one might expect, it is sometimes used quite

¹⁹⁸ See below 45-6.

¹⁹⁹ Zabel 11-4.

²⁰⁰ 729.

²⁰¹ Ps. Philox. IN 372 (GL 2.199 = CGL 2.85.16) *implicisco* : ἐπιτροπιάζω; Abstr. IN 179 (GL 3.49 = CGL 4.96.45) *implicisceret* : *implicaret*. The other glossaries merely repeat *Abstrusa*.

²⁰² Ad M. Caes. 3.13, p. 51 N. (1.222 Haines): Nam ego potius te caruero . . . quam te ad hoc noctis natare tantum profundi patiar, . . . ne quid ibi ex frigore impliciscare (*impliciscar* cod.), ne fluctus . . . noxsit.

²⁰³ Liv. 2.21.4, 27.43.3.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Georges s.v. *implico*. *Morbo* is omitted in Cael. Aurel. Acut. 3.8.87: (Vinum) denique etiam iam sanos indigestos atque inutiles et implicitos facit. Cf. Mart. 1.101.6.

²⁰⁵ Vel. Long., GLK 7.73.4-6, quoting Varro (fr. 275 Fun., q.v.): Ita sicuti boves, cum se a recto actu operis detorserint, delirare dicuntur, sic qui a recta via vitae ad pravam declinant, per similitudinem translationis item delirare existimantur. Cf. Non. 17.32; Varr. R.R. 1.29.2; Plin. N.H. 18.180; E-M and Walde-H s.v.; Olck RE 1.282.49-59. *Lira* is sometimes defined as 'furrow' (Non. 17.32), but properly denotes the 'ridge' between two furrows (e.g. Colum. 2.4.8). The spelling *delerus* is probably of dialectical origin instead of being due to confusion with *ληρος*, as ancient grammarians (Vel. Long. loc. cit., cf. App. Probi 116) thought. Cf. Ernout, Élé. dial. 150-2. DeWitt, AJP 39.408 (1918), suggests that *delirare* may also have meant 'to be out of plumb', and compares Auson. Idyll. 16.11 (p. 90 P): nil ut deliret amussis. The English and French equivalents for the same expression, *to be off one's trolley* and *dérailer*, reflect a mechanical rather than an agricultural civilization. Cf. Müller-Graupa, Glotta 19.58-9 (1930).

casually,²⁰⁶ yet rather more often than other words does it convey a specific notion of mental disease. *Delirium* in Celsus, who does not use the verb, is a technical term for mental disturbances arising from some physical cause, fever or injury.²⁰⁷ In literary texts, *delirare* usually implies irrational speech. Phormio says that Chremes 'delirat miser / timore', when he stammers appeals to his wife not to believe anything that may be said.²⁰⁸ When Alcesimarchus, in grandiloquent style, calls for his armor and his trusty steed—which naturally he does not possess—his slave asks, 'Utrum deliras, quaeso, an astans somnias?'²⁰⁹ Amphitruo calls Sosia's assurances that he is in two places at once 'dicta delirantia'.²¹⁰ From this use of *delirare* is perhaps derived its special application to the aged. Lucretius says that when old age arrives, 'Claudicat ingenium, delirat lingua',²¹¹ and Cicero speaks of the 'senilis stultitia quae deliratio appellari solet'.²¹² There is a neat turn in Suetonius' story of the omens that accompanied the birth of Vespasian. They were so favorable that his father Sabinus told his own mother that her newly born grandson would be a Caesar, but she only laughed, marveling 'quod adhuc se mentis compote deliraret iam filius suus'.²¹³

²⁰⁶ E.g. Am. 789: Haec quidem nos delirantes facere dictis postulat; Ad. 936-7 (cf. Don. ad loc.), Ph. 801; Laber. 139; Lucr. 1.692, 698, 2.985 (cf. Cic. Tusc. 1.10 and the discussion of *desipere*, page 33); Hor. Epist. 1.2.14, 12.20; Cic. Div. 1.35 (cf. Pease ad loc.); Petr. 88.10; Apul. Met. 8.25.

²⁰⁷ Fever: Cels. 2.6.7, 8.16; cf. 5.26.31 E; other morbid conditions: 2.8.34; wounds of the head: 2.7.28, 5.26.14. The usual Greek term is *παραφροσύνη*; cf. e.g. Hipp. Aph. 4.50 (4.520 L). Although *delirium* is not cited by the TLL from any other author, it must have been in common use, as Celsus nowhere troubles to define it. Cf. Lucr. 3.464, 5.1159.

²⁰⁸ Ph. 997-8. Cf. Cels. 3.18.24; Raro sed aliquando tamen ex metu delirium nascitur; Serv. Aen. 8.187: Superstitio est timor superfluus et delirus. Aut ab aniculis dicta superstitio, quia multae superstites per aetatem delirant et stultae sunt.

²⁰⁹ Ci. 291. Cf. Cic. N.D. 1.42: delirantium somnia.

²¹⁰ Am. 585b. Cf. 726-8, Men. 1074; And. 752. *Deliramenta* regularly denotes wild and senseless utterance rather than actions or ideas: Am. 696, Cap. 598: Iam deliramenta loquitur, larvae stimulant virum; Men. 919-20; Apul. Apol. 29, Flor. 3, p. 4.12 H. (cf. 9, p. 10.23 H). For Laber. 134-6, see below 51, n. 87.

²¹¹ 3.453.

²¹² Senect. 36. Cf. De Orat. 2.75: Multos se deliros senes saepe vidisse, sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret vidisse neminem; Ep. 393; Ad. 761; Suet. Nero 33.1; Hor. Sat. 2.5.71; Cic. Tusc. 1.48, Div. 2.141; Apul. Met. 6.25; Gell. 1.19.6. *Ἀηρεῖν* is the technical Greek equivalent; cf. Aret. 3.6.2.

²¹³ Vespas. 5.2.

Besides *delirare*, there are other expressions in which mental aberration is compared to wandering.²¹⁴ The clearest statement of the idea is to be found in Lucretius' description of delirium: 'Quin etiam morbis in corporis avius errat / saepe animus; dementit enim deliraque fatur.'²¹⁵ Somewhat similar in language is Mercury's confident prediction, 'Erroris ambo ego illos et dementiae / complebo'.²¹⁶ Cicero, referring to his sufferings in exile, writes to Atticus: 'Quod scribis te audire me etiam mentis errore ex dolore adfici, mihi vero mens integra est.'²¹⁷ In the elegiac sermo amatorius, *error* is used technically as a synonym of *insania* or *furor*, as may be seen from Ovid's representation of the triumph of Cupid: 'Mens bona ducetur manibus post terga retortis . . . Blanditiae comites tibi erunt Errorque Furorque.'²¹⁸ There occurs in comedy the phrase *non esse apud se*, which usually describes a character who is under the influence of some strong emotion,²¹⁹ but may also imply a temporary lack of reason. Philocomasium, coming out of a faint and finding herself in Pleusicles' arms, cries in mock consternation, 'Opsecro, quem amplexa sum / hominem? perii! sumne ego apud me?''²²⁰ The young husband in the Hecyra takes precipitately to his heels when his father's criticism of his conduct becomes unendurable, and the old man turns in bewilderment to the boy's father-in-law with the words, 'Num tibi videtur esse apud sese?''²²¹ The notion of ecstasy in the literal sense of the word²²² is very rarely met. A passage from Petronius may however be cited. Utterly disgusted by the constant stream of poetry issuing from Eumolpus' lips, Encolpius protests vigorously. 'Rogo', he says, 'quid tibi vis cum isto morbo? . . . non miror si te populus lapidibus persequitur. Ego quoque sinum meum saxis onerabo et quotienscumque coeperis a te exire, sanguinem tibi

²¹⁴ For Germanic expressions, cf. Zabel 23-8.

²¹⁵ 3.463-4.

²¹⁶ Am. 470-1.

²¹⁷ Att. 3.13.2. Cf. Tri. 639: Mens officio migrat.

²¹⁸ Amor. 1.2.31, 35. Cf. Preston 10.

²¹⁹ And. 937 (joy), H.T. 921 (anger, cf. Petr. 129.11), Ph. 204 (consternation). Cf. And. 408; Apul. Met. 2.6: O Luci, evigila et tecum esto. Similarly a person overcome with joy or fear may be said not to know where he is: H.T. 308, Ph. 993.

²²⁰ Mi. 1345-6.

²²¹ Hec. 707.

²²² Cf. Rohde, *Psyche, Seelencult u. Unsterblichkeitsglaube d. Griechen* 2.11-22 (Tübingen, 1925); trans. W. B. Hillis 257-60 (London and New York, 1925).

a capite mittam.²²³ The words *a te exire* are particularly apt, since the poet, like the bacchant, was thought to be possessed by a god.²²⁴

²²³ 90.4. On bleeding as a remedy for madness, cf. Juv. 6.46, 14.57-8; Cels. 3.18.6-7; and on stoning, cf. Poe. 528 and Sen. Contr. 3 praef. 15.

²²⁴ Cf. Kroll, Studien z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit., chap. 2 (Stuttgart, 1924). There is apparently no other case of the expression. Georges, s.v. *exeo*, compares *exisse ex potestate* (Cic. Tusc. 3.11 and 4.77), which refers rather, so Cicero says, to lack of self-control. Curiously enough, though Cicero cites this phrase as characteristically Latin, it seems to occur in these two passages only.

II. EXPRESSIONS INVOLVING THE SUPERNATURAL

Among all peoples there is a general tendency to ascribe to the action of some supernatural power phenomena, such as those of mental aberration, which are not fully understood.¹ Traces of such a belief are to be readily found in Greek and Latin as well as in the Germanic languages.² Phrases which describe a person who acts strangely as being in the control of a god, words for madness which are derived from a god's name or from a generic term for 'spirit', and words formed on verbal roots meaning 'to seize' and the like, are all to be included in this category.

One group of phrases represents the individual merely as in the grip of some unidentified power. Formally, such words contain a verbal root, and the victim is thought of as 'caught', 'struck', or 'touched'.³ Examples in Germanic are, among others, Swedish *befängd* 'possessed' or 'mad' (: German *befangen* 'to clasp'), Anglo-Saxon *geris* 'rage' (: *gerisan* 'to seize, take'), English *he's touched*, and the Flemish equivalents, *gerocht in den kop* (: Dutch *raaken* 'touch') and *eenen tik hebben*.⁴ From Greek, *ἐκπλαγείς*, *ἐκπληξίς*, and other words connected with *πλήττω* 'to strike' may be cited.

The Latin expression which immediately comes to mind in this connection is *mente captus*, found rather often in Latin literature from the time of Cicero. The orator brings to a climax an impassioned invective against Piso with the words, 'Ego te non vaeccordem, non furiosum, non mente captum, non tragico illo Oreste aut Athamante dementiorem putem?'⁵ Varro uses the phrase in a passage which suggests a clause

¹ Cf. e.g. Nilsson, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 22.379 ff. (1923-4); O'Brien-Moore, 11 ff.; Scheftelowitz, *Das Schlingen- u. Netzmotiv im Glauben u. Brauch d. Völker* 27-38 (RVV 12.2, Giessen, 1912), with bibl. in notes; Carl Saas, *Die Behandlung d. Geisteskranken i. röm. Recht* 16, n. 13 (Zürich, 1911).

² For Germanic, cf. Zabel 1-8.

³ Words of this type do not of course necessarily have a magical connotation. The effects of a severe blow, especially one on the head, may well have furnished the starting point for some metaphors (cf. Zabel 4-5), and others may be derived from military terminology.

⁴ Zabel 5-8.

⁵ Pis. 47. Cf. *Catil.* 3.21 and *TLL* 3.340.30-54.

of the Twelve Tables,⁶ and it appears in the classical law as a synonym of *furiosus*.⁷ *Mente captus* does not however occur in the satirists, the comic poets, or Petronius, and seems rather to have belonged to formal diction. The same is true of the analogous expressions *oculis captus* and *pedibus captus*,⁸ while none of these phrases is attested in early Latin. *Captus* alone never refers to madness. These facts suggest the likelihood that we have to do with a military metaphor rather than a phrase of religious origin.

As we have noted, *captus* merely means 'seized, handicapped' with respect to whatever part of the body is mentioned in connection with it. In the words *rabere*, *rabies*, *rabidus*, and *rabiosus*, on the contrary, if the shaky evidence of etymology may be trusted, the same semantic development apparently went a step further, and that in prehistoric times. It is possible to connect these words with Greek *λάβρος* 'violent' <**λάβρος*⁹, but a closer resemblance can be found in Sanscrit *rābhah* 'violence', and *rabhasāh* 'fierce, impetuous', derived from the root *rabh-* or *labh-*, IE **labh-* 'to grasp', to which some forms of *λαμβάνω* are referred.¹⁰ On this theory, *rabere*—the most primitive form of the group—would mean 'to be seized', and then 'to act violently' or 'to be mad'. Unfortunately, this hypothesis is neither confirmed nor weakened by the evidence of historical Latin usage. The words appear in a variety of contexts, but always connote raving or violent action, and practically all the shades of meaning are attested from an early period, so that no chronological treatment is possible.

⁶ RR 1.2.8: Duo in primis spectasse videntur Italici homines <in> colendo, possentne fructus pro inpena ac labore redire et utrum saluber locus esset an non. Quorum si alterutrum decolat et nihilo minus quis vult colere, mente est captus atque ad adgnatos et gentiles est deducendus. Cf. XII Tab. V 7a cited below 44.

⁷ E.g. Dig. 27.1.45.2, 10.14, 28.3.20, 39.5.23.1. See below 44.

⁸ E.g. Cic. Tusc. 5.117; Liv. 43.7.5; cf. TLL 3.340.54-72.

⁹ Schulze, KZ 42.233 (1909). Cf. Walde and E-M s.v., Boisacq s.v.

¹⁰ Walde-P 2.341; on *λαμβάνω*, cf. *ibid.* 2.385 (**labh-*) and 2.707 (**slag-*). Meillet (E-M s.v.), accepting the connection of *rabies* and *rābhah*, would separate the latter from *labh-* on both semantic and phonetic grounds. But there may have been parallel *r* and *l* forms of the root (cf. Hirt, *Indog. Grammatik* 1.205-7 [Heidelberg, 1927]), and the development in meaning from 'seized' to 'mad' can be illustrated, as we have seen, from the Germanic languages. Cf. Zabel 4-5, and also Güntert, *Über arische Reimwortbildungen* 1.24-5 (Heidelberg, 1914). So far as the formal evidence is concerned, *rabere* might equally well mean 'to seize', but for the development of the notion of madness from such a verb there appears to be no parallel.

Actual insanity as a meaning of *rabies* etc. seems to be certainly required in only one passage. In the mad scene of the Captives, Tyn-darus, trying to discredit Aristophontes, says of him among other things: 'Hegio, hic homo rabiosus habitus est in Alide, / ne tu quod istic fabuletur auris immittas tuas.' He goes on to accuse Aristophontes of murderous attacks on his parents, and when the object of these charges vehemently denies them, calls out a warning to Hegio: 'Fit quod tibi ego dixi, gliscit rabies, cave tibi.'¹¹ The *rabies* of which Tyndarus speaks is evidently an attack of homicidal mania, for he later expresses fear of being stoned by the supposed madman.¹²

More often *rabies*, like other words denoting insanity, is used of emotional states bordering more or less closely on madness—love, grief, the berserk fury of the warrior, and anger,¹³ while *rabidus* refers so frequently to savage animals as almost to become a conventional epithet, especially of watchdogs.¹⁴ In some cases however *canes rabidi* are actually mad dogs, although references to hydrophobia are naturally not very common outside of technical literature.¹⁵ Applied to a person, the epithet 'mad dog' suggested to the Roman a bad temper and a venomous tongue. When the wife of Menaechmus I upbraids Menaechmus II for stealing her cloak (as she thinks), she reminds him of Hecuba who, according to the story, was changed into a dog because she continually abused those with whom she came in contact.¹⁶ A little

¹¹ 547-8 (cf. 552), 558.

¹² 593.

¹³ Love: Eun. 301; cf. Apul. Met. 10.22. Grief: Petr. 94.9. Martial rage: Juv. 15.126; Petr. 108.8 (a parody of a battle); cf. Apul. Met. 9.9 and esp. Cic. Tusc. 4.49-55. Anger: Petr. 139.5; Juv. 6.648; Apul. Met. 9.25; Sen. De Ira 1.4.2. Seneca however (De Ira 1.3.3-4; cf. Lact. De Ira Dei 17.12-21) makes a distinction between *rabies*, the unreasoning rage of animals, and *ira*, which is at bottom a desire for revenge, and which, though irrational, is limited to rational beings. For the Stoic doctrine of anger as a form of insanity, cf. Sen. De Ira 1.1.

¹⁴ Lucr. 5.892 (dub. lect.), 1065; Petr. 136.4; Mart. Ep. 18.3; Juv. 15. 163; Apul. Met. 6.12, 8.15. Watchdogs: Apul. Met. 4.3, 6.20, 8.17, 9.36.

¹⁵ Cf. Cels. 5.27.2; Plin. N. H., Jan's Index s.v. *canis*. Non-technical references are Hor. Ep. 2.2.75; Verg. Georg. 3.496; Apul. Met. 9.2, 3. Cf. Baumann, Janus 32.181 (1928). *λύσσα* is the technical term in Greek, e.g. Xen. Anab. 5.7.26; Arist. H. A. 604a.5. Cf. Baumann, *ibid.* 138-9. It is perhaps worth noting that the disease was in all probability first diagnosed in man by Andreas of Carystus (m. 217 B.C.), and that knowledge of it was brought to Rome by Asclepiades (Baumann 138-45). Even late medical writers however seem to avoid the terms *λύσσα* and *rabies* when referring to human beings, doubtless because the symptoms are different in man.

¹⁶ Men. 714-8. Cf. Sittig, RE 7.2659-60. Respectable matrons are compared with dogs in Cas. 320, 971-3, Mi. 681; cf. Cu. 597-8 and Otto s.v. *canis*, 2.

later, while simulating an attack of Bacchic frenzy, he refers to the lady as a *rabiosa femina canes*, evidently with the same comparison in mind.¹⁷ The same figure is found in a fragment of Varro which reads, 'Quid est? quid latras? quid rabis? quid vis tibi?'¹⁸

Another force of *rabies* is seen in passages which deal with priests who are thought to be directly inspired by a god.¹⁹ It is for example one of several words applied in Catullus' *Attis* to the madness that afflicts the eunuch priests of Cybele.²⁰ Here a Greek source is possible. Wilamowitz has shown that Catullus' *Attis* is a translation of Callimachus' poem of the same name,²¹ and one may hazard the guess that *rabies* in Catullus stands for a definite Greek word, perhaps *λύσσα*.²² Again, there may have been a Greek background for the words with which Ennius makes Hecuba reproach Cassandra: 'Sed quid oculis rabere visa es derepente ardentibus? / ubi paulo ante sapiens illa virginali' modestia?'²³ Of particular interest therefore is the fragment from Afranius' *Augur* in which the hero is said to have been 'seized' with the divine madness: 'Modo postquam adripuit rabies hunc nostrum augurem, / mare caelum terram ruere ac tremere diceret.'²⁴ Since this play was a togata, no possible Greek source has to be taken into account, though of course Afranius' choice of the word may have been partly determined by its use in plays which did depend on Greek models as well as by Greek notions of the prophet's function. This is incidentally the only example in comedy of *rabies* in the sense of 'inspiration', unless the fragment of Caecilius Statius' *Hypobolimaheus Ras-*

¹⁷ Men. 837; cf. 936. The use of *rabiosa* rather than *rabida* is interesting; it seems to be the more emphatic word as it is the more colloquial; cf. Heraeus on App. Probi 211.

¹⁸ Sat. 217. Other instances where *rabidus* and *rabies* refer to persons with biting tongues are Mart. 6.64.27; Apul. Apol. 28, Flor. 7, 9.13 H. The figure apparently does not occur in Greek; the only instance cited by L-S where a person is referred to as a mad dog is Il. 8.299, where Hector is called *κύνα λυσσητήρα*, obviously because of his fighting spirit.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the relation between madness and mantic inspiration, cf. O'Brien-Moore 206-28.

²⁰ 63.4, 38, 44, 57, 93. In vss. 4, 38, and 93, *furor* or *furo* appears in connection with *rabies* or *rabidus*; in 57, the phrase is *rabie fera*.

²¹ Hermes 14.194-201 (1879).

²² Cf. Kroll on Cat. 63.4, and Anth. P. 6.234.6 (Erycius): *ἐκ λύσσας παυσάμενος* (said of a *gallus* who dedicates his tambourine etc. to Cybele).

²³ Scaen. 39-40. *Λύσσα* is frequently used in Greek tragedy of characters whose madness is heaven-sent, e.g. Aesch. Prom. 883 (Io), Choeph. 288; Eur. Or. 254 (Orestes); Soph. Aj. 452 (Ajax), although L-S cites no instance in which it refers to Cassandra.

²⁴ 8-9.

traria, 'Rabere se ait', refers to a seer, or to a character who assumes the prophetic mantle.²⁵ Even the most sanguine reconstruction of the plot however does not give us any inkling as to the precise nature of the intrigue, and the fragment may equally well have formed part of a scene something like that in the *Casina* where the maidservant's supposed attack of madness is described.²⁶

The various uses of *rabere* etc. are most closely paralleled by the group *furere*, *furor*, *Furia*,²⁷ *furibundus*, *furiosus*, which will therefore be discussed here, although its origin—uncertain in any case—is probably quite different.²⁸

Like *rabere*, *furere* and its derivatives imply violence in both feelings and actions.²⁹ Apuleius represents Venus as receiving Psyche with a

²⁵ 89.

²⁶ 621 ff. For the plot of the *Hypobolimaheus*, cf. Legrand, REG 17.320-6 (1904).

²⁷ The history of the word *furia* is puzzling in many respects. Though the name of the Furies seems to be a personification, no case where it is equivalent to *furor* is cited before the Augustan Age, and the singular does not occur as an abstract noun until quite late. Cf. TLL 6.1613-7. There is nevertheless, in spite of the arguments of Rapp, Myth. Lex. 1.1559-64, and Waser, RE 7.308-10, no positive evidence that the *Furiae* were primitive Italic spirits of the underworld, and as mythological beings they may well have been nothing more than a literary creation corresponding to the Greek 'Ερινύες. It may of course fairly be asked why in that case the name *Furiae* was chosen to represent 'Ερινύες. (The same point might be raised in regard to *Dirae*, which originally referred not to spirits, but to unfavorable omens. Cf. TLL 5.1269.69.) The problem is further complicated by the theory that *furia* is a back-formation from *furiosus* (Stolz-Schm. 231), but if this is correct, from what form is *furiosus* derived? An analogical proportion *rabere* : *rabiosus* = *furere* : x is possible, but unnecessary and rendered no more likely by the fact that *furiosus* is much the commoner of the two words. *Furia* is moreover found in Enn. Scaen. 56, and *furiosus* is obviously attested earlier only because it happens to be a legal word. The question has some bearing on the semantic development of *furiosus*, which used to be thought, especially by writers on Roman law, to be parallel to *cerritus* and *larvatus* and to mean 'possessed by a Fury'. Cf. Audibert, NRD 14.869-70 (1890) = Études sur l'hist. du droit rom. I. La folie et la prodigalité 40-3 (Paris, 1892); Saas, Behandlung d. Geisteskranken 17-9; M. Voigt, Das Civil- u. Criminalrecht d. XII Tafeln 2.729-31 (Leipzig, 1883); E. Jobbé-Duval, Les morts malfaisants 'larvae, lemures' d'après le droit et les croyances pop. des Romains 122-3 (Paris, 1924). It is more probable however that *furiosus*, like *rabiosus*, means 'full of madness', since the other Latin words signifying 'possessed'—*larvatus*, *cerritus*, *lymphatus*—do not have the same -*osus* suffix (but cf. Am. 777, *larvarum plenasi*).

²⁸ For a summary of the various etymologies that have been proposed, cf. Walde-H s.v. *furo*.

²⁹ Mart. 6.63.3-4, Tu tamen hunc tabulis heredem, stulte, supremis / scribis et esse tuo vis, furiose, loco, appears to be an isolated case. On Petr. 3.2: qui necesse habent cum insanientibus furere, cf. Otto s.v. *furere*.

raucous laugh, 'qualem solent furenter irati', and speaks of the 'impetus furiosus' which the cuckold fuller meditates against his rival.³⁰ In a declamation dealing with the perennial topic of the disinherited son, Latro, according to Seneca, said that the father 'non irasci tantum debere, sed furere'.³¹ The disreputable poet Eumolpus begins his story of the Widow of Ephesus with the assertion that no woman is so chaste 'quae non peregrina libidine usque ad furorem averteretur'.³² Martial rage is often described in terms of *furere* and *furor*, especially in epic or in mock-heroic style, although examples may be cited from the historians as well.³³

The most striking resemblance between *furor* and *rabies* is the fact that they are the only terms in general use which describe the madness of the divinely inspired seer or adherent of an orgiastic cult.³⁴ It is noteworthy that both words are used several times in Catullus' Attis,³⁵ while other expressions—*vagus animi* and *demens*—occur but once.³⁶ When Martial wishes to put as strongly as possible the dangers of patronizing the barber Antiochus, he compares his reckless movements to those of the priests of the Magna Mater: 'Alba minus saevis lacerantur bracchia cultris / cum furit ad Phrygios enthea turba modos'.³⁷ In other cases *furor* has a wider application. Cicero writes, 'Inest igitur in animis praesagatio extrinsecus iniecta atque inclusa divinitus. Ea si exarsit acrius furor appellatur, cum a corpore animus abstractus divino instinctu concitatur'.³⁸ *Furere* occurs in the same sense in

³⁰ Met. 6.9, 9.25. Cf. 8.6.

³¹ Contr. 1.1.21.

³² Petr. 110.7. Cf. Cat. 64.94, 124, 197; Mart. 10.35.5; Apul. Met. 8.3. For examples from elegy, cf. Pichon s.v. *furor*.

³³ Cf. TLL 6.1624.59–67, 1632.28–51. *Furere* may refer to animals too, e.g. Mart. Ep. 22.4, 2.75.7; Apul. Met. 8.5; esp. to spirited or bad-tempered horses, Varr. Sat. 118; Petr. 134.12, vs. 9; Apul. Met. 3.26; and to savage dogs, Petr. 72.9; Apul. Met. 9.36.

³⁴ For *fanaticus*, which almost always refers specifically to devotees of Oriental cults, see below 57–8. In historical Rome, the devotees of these cults were the only persons to whom such a description properly applied. The difference between *fanaticus* and *furiosus* seems to be that *fanaticus* denotes actual persons, namely such worshippers, while *furiosus* is used in the Graeco-Roman literary tradition for exactly the same sort of conduct. Mart. 11.84.4 (see 43 n. 37) probably represents this tradition—note the Greek word *enthea*.

³⁵ 63.4, 31, 38, 54, 78–9, 92. For examples of *rabies*, see above 41 n. 20.

³⁶ 63.4, 89.

³⁷ 11.84.3–4. Occasionally the epithet *furens* is transferred from the mad priest to the divinity who inspires him, e.g. Juv. 6.511–2: Ecce furentis / Bellonae matrisque deum chorus intrat. Cf. Petr. 124.1, vs. 282.

³⁸ Div. 1.66. Cf. 1.1, with Pease's note; also TLL 6.1620.12–5, 1626.66–1627.8, 1630.5–39.

Petronius' analysis of the difference between epic and history: 'Non enim res gestae versibus comprehendendae sunt . . . sed per ambages deorumque ministeria et fabulosum sententiarum tormentum praecipitandus est liber spiritus, ut potius furentis animi vaticinatio appareat quam religiosae orationis sub testibus fides.' Here the common idea of the poet as possessed by a divine frenzy is brought out.³⁹

Very important is the use of *furiosus* etc. in legal documents. The earliest example is a clause of the Twelve Tables: 'Si furiosus escit, adgnatum gentiliumque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas esto.'⁴⁰ Doubtless it is on the model of this clause that *furiosus* is used as a technical term in the classical and later law, where its exact significance, especially as contrasted with *demens* and *mente captus*, has provoked much fruitless discussion. A full treatment of this question is impossible within the limits of the present study; suffice it to say that whatever distinction there exists among these words is probably best explained on the basis of Greek medical terminology. In most passages *furiosus* simply means 'insane'.⁴¹ Although genuine madmen are not often mentioned in literature, occasional examples of this use may be cited from non-legal texts. A fragment from some tragedian, quoted by Cicero, states that Ulysses, in order to avoid joining the expedition against Troy, 'furere adsimulare . . . institit.'⁴² In a fragment of Petronius, Encolpius, evidently seeking Ascyrtos and Giton, gets himself up in military attire, as he says, 'et . . . mox in publicum prosilio furentisque more omnis circumeo porticus.'⁴³ In much the same frame of mind he issues an ultimatum to Eumolpus, 'Et ego iracundus sum et tu libidinosus. Vide quam non convenit his moribus. Puta igitur me furiosum esse, cede insaniae, id est, ocius foras exi.'⁴⁴ Juvenal, writing of Caligula, contrasts the *furor* into which he fell as a result of the philtres administered by his wife with 'animi caligo et magna oblivio rerum quas gessisti.'⁴⁵

³⁹ 118.6. Cf. Kroll, Studien chap. 2.

⁴⁰ V.7a (Bruns, Font. iur. Rom. ant.⁷ 23-4 [Tübingen, 1909]; cf. Girard, Textes de droit rom. 514 [Paris, 1923]).

⁴¹ Cf. Lenel, ZSS 45.514-8 (1925) (the most plausible explanation); Audibert, NRD 14.846-90 (1890) = La folie 1-73; Krüger, ZSS 14.260-8 (1893); Lenel, Bull. dell' Ist. di Dir. Rom. 33.227-39 (1923); Jobbé-Duval, Les morts malfaisants 124-32; Solazzi, Μουσείον 2.10-40 (1924-5). For examples of *furiosus* in the Digest, cf. Vocab. Iurisprud. Rom. s.v.

⁴² Trag. inc. 57 Ribb. ap. Cic. Off. 3.98.

⁴³ 82.1.

⁴⁴ 94.6. Cf. Varr. Sat. 148.

⁴⁵ 6.612-5.

Rabies, unlike *furor*, almost never appears in the law books,⁴⁶ and rarely refers to actual insanity.⁴⁷ *Furor* is moreover used far more freely of inanimate objects.⁴⁸ It is in their distribution among different types of literature however that the most striking difference between *furor* and *rabies* is seen. *Furere* and its derivatives are entirely absent from comedy, although found in contemporary tragedy, while *rabies* occurs several times in comedy. *Furere* and *furibundus* belong on the whole to elegant literary style and especially to poetry, so that their absence from comedy is not surprising.⁴⁹ The same is true to a limited extent of *furor* which, though a poetic term, is frequent in Cicero and the jurists as well.⁵⁰ For *furiosus* however no such explanation can be offered, since it is definitely a prose word.⁵¹

As in the case of *rabere*, there is some uncertainty in regard to the early history of *fatuus*, which, according to the most likely hypothesis,

⁴⁶ Cod. 6.22.2: aliqua furoris rabie, appears to be the only case.

⁴⁷ See above 40.

⁴⁸ Disease or corruption may be said to 'rage' through the body: Petr. 119, vs. 55; Apul. Met. 10.26, Apol. 50; cf. Met. 10.25. Petronius describes a desolate region in the underworld as 'Cocyti perfusus aqua; nam spiritus, extra / qui furit effusus funesto spargitur aestu' (120, vss. 69-70). Catullus' 'caeli furor aequinoctialis' is obviously stormy weather (46.2). Usually however when *furor* is used of forests or of the heavens, the idea of noise is involved, e.g. Petr. 122, vss. 134-5: *Armorum strepitu caelum furit et tuba Martem / sideribus tremefacta ciet*. Cf. Mart. 8.53.2, 9.68.7; Juv. 14.63.

⁴⁹ Of the twelve cases of *furere* in Petronius, six occur in the *Bellum Civile*, two in other verse selections, and none in the speeches of the freedmen. The three citations from Catullus are in the sixty-third and sixty-fourth poems. Against the ten cases in Martial, whose style is ordinarily not highly embellished, must be placed the fifty-nine examples from the work of Vergil. *Furibundus* is much less common in any form of literature, but the same distribution is observable here also. Fully two-thirds of the citations in the TLL are from poetic works, and many of the prose examples are from the Church Fathers. In classical prose the word is cited from Cic. *Sest.* 15, 117, *Phil.* 13.19, *Div.* 1.4, 114; *Sall. Cat.* 31.9; *Sen. N. Q.* 5.16.5; *Apul. Met.* 8.6. This may be partly due to the fact that adjectives in *-bundus* are much more frequent in later Latin (Stolz, *Hist. Grammatik d. lat. Sprache* 1.2.569-70 [Leipzig, 1895]), but the difference between prose and poetry is probably significant nevertheless.

⁵⁰ Cf. TLL 6.1629.36-40. Celsus uses it occasionally, e.g. 2.7.26-7, 3.18.6. Four of the eight cases in Petronius occur in prose passages, one of which is a parody of a battle scene (108.9). There are twelve cases in Catullus, of which four are in the *Attis* and four in the *Peleus* and *Thetis*. Vergil has thirty-four cases.

⁵¹ While there are some forty-five cases in Cicero, there are none, according to the TLL 6.1619.39-42, in *Cat.*, *Tib.*, *Prop.*, or in *Lucan*, *Val. Fl.*, *Sil. Ital.*, and *Stat.* To this list Vergil should be added.

is derived from a root **bhat-* 'to strike', and is therefore semantically comparable to words like *ἀπόπληκτος*.⁵² In the great majority of examples and in all those cited from Republican literature, it means 'stupid', or rather 'imbecile', and often appears as a term of abuse. Mercury, posing as Sosia, impudently berates Amphitruo for pounding on the door of his own house: 'Paene ecfregisti, fatue, foribus cardines.'⁵³ Catullus refers contemptuously to Lesbia's husband as 'illi fatuo',⁵⁴ and in another connection, joins *verbosus* and *fatuis*, which suggests the popular ancient derivation of *fatuus* from *fari*.⁵⁵ When used seriously, *fatuus* denotes a very marked deficiency in mental powers, as may be seen from the fact that the jurists, so far as certain legal matters are concerned, place the *fatuus* in the same category as deaf mutes and the *furiosus*,⁵⁶ and state that while a seller does not have to guarantee the intelligence of a slave, 'tamen si ita fatuum vel morionem vendiderit, ut in eo usus nullus sit', the buyer has legal redress.⁵⁷

There are several passages, of which the earliest are in Martial, where *fatuus* means 'tasteless',⁵⁸ and it has been suggested that this sense is the earlier and that we should postulate a line of development similar to that in *insulsus*.⁵⁹ Against this hypothesis may be urged the relatively late occurrence of any reference to taste, while a change in meaning from 'foolish' to 'tasteless' is not impossible, and very much the same evolution may actually be seen in Greek *μωρός*.⁶⁰

A semantic parallel to *fatuus* may be found in *stupere* and *stupidus*,

⁵² Cf. Walde-H s. v., and for Greek parallels, Havers, KZ 43.227-31 (1910).

⁵³ Am. 1026. Cf. Ba. 1088; Eun. 604, 1079; Pompon. Bon. 108; Anon. Mim. Rel. 2.2.

⁵⁴ 83.2.

⁵⁵ 98.2. Cf. Kroll ad loc.; TLL 6.370.54-60; Sen. Apoc. 7.1: Tu desine fatuari, with Ball's note.

⁵⁶ Dig. 3.1.2, 42.5.21.

⁵⁷ Dig. 21.1.4.3. Cf. Afran. 416: Ego me esse stultum existimo, fatuum esse non opinor (preserved by Isid. Diff. 500, q.v.). Isid.'s explanation is based on etymology (cf. Orig. 10.103), and his information was probably limited to the passage of Afran. which he quotes. Cf. also Aug. C. Iul. Op. Imperf. 2.187 (Migne 45.1223): Cui enim, non dico stulto, sed fatuo, persuadebitis, mortem per unum hominem intrasse.

⁵⁸ Mart. 7.25.7 fatuasque mariscas, 10.37.9 fatuam pelorida, 11.31.8 -as placentas, 13.13.1 -ae betae; cf. TLL 6.372.33-50.

⁵⁹ E-M s.v.

⁶⁰ See above 17-8. References to taste: Diocl. Caryst. 138.28 Wellmann; Com. Adesp. 596 K; Diosc. 4.19.

words derived from a root **(s)teu-p-*, which apparently meant 'to strike'.⁶¹ Ordinarily, these words refer to the momentary paralysis of one who is stunned by some sudden shock, and involve both physical and mental inertia.⁶² The combination of the two ideas may be illustrated by a fragment of Sextus Turpilius: 'Erus stupidus adstat; ita eius aspectus repens / cor torporavit homini amore.'⁶³ Sometimes the inability to speak is particularly emphasized. Antipho, like a well-bred young gentleman, 'postquam ad iudices / ventumst, non potuit cogitata proloqui / ita eum tum timidum ibi obstupescit pudor.'⁶⁴ In other cases, a dazed mental condition is denoted by *stupidus*, while the physical manifestations are not stressed at all.⁶⁵ According to the prologue of the Hecyra, the first performance of the

⁶¹ E-M s.v.; Walde-P 2.619. Walde recognizes the possibility that some words showing this formation may be derived from a root **steu-* = **sta-* 'to stand, to be stiff', rather than from the homonymous root 'to strike' (Walde-P 2.615, 618). It does not seem impossible that the two roots should be identical, as Persson, Beiträge 2.714, n. 1, suggests, although his explanation, 'Als semasiologisches Mittel könnte man etwa "Stock" annehmen, "schlagen" = "mit einem Stock bearbeiten" o. dgl.,' is improbable. It is more natural to suppose that the original meaning of the root was 'to strike' or 'to slash', and that some derivatives represent the passive force of this idea. Walde-P 2.619 suggests that *stupere* applied particularly to stagnant water, but the examples are all from the imperial period; cf. Petr. 123, vs. 191, and esp. Mart. 9.99.10. On the formation, cf. Buck, A Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin, §372.2 (Chicago, 1933).

⁶² In occasional cases, physical immobility only seems to be implied; cf. Plin. N. H. 27.6: *Torpescunt scorpiones aconiti tactu stupentque pallentes*. (The juxtaposition of *torpescunt* and *stupent* is significant; *torpere* is very much like *stupere* in force, but does not develop the connotations of mental deficiency that the latter does.) The idea of physical inactivity is moreover strongly felt in such a passage as Acc. Trag. 611-2: *Iam iam stupido Thessala somno / pectora languentque senentque*. Cf. Suet. Aug. 16.2.

⁶³ 75-6. *Cor* is probably equivalent to *mens* here as in other passages; see 50, 79. Cf. Mi. 1254, Poe. 261; Petr. 58.9; Fronto Ad M. Caes. 1.7.3, p. 19 N (1.166 Haines). For *stupidus* . . . *torporavit*, cf. Apul. Met. 9.34-5: *Ad extremum stuporem deiecerant animos . . . omnibus exspectatione taeterrimae formidinis torpidis*.

⁶⁴ Ph. 282-4. Cf. 991, Ep. 583; And. 256; Petr. 19.3, 108.1; Sen. Apoc. 14.3; Apul. Met. 6.10.

⁶⁵ In some such passages, *animus* or *mens* occurs, e.g. And. 303-4: *Ut animus in spe atque in timore usque antehac attentus fuit, / ita postquam adempta spes est, lassu' cura confectus stupet*, Ad. 612-3: *Membra metu debilia sunt; animu' timore obstipuit; / pectore consistere nil consili quit*; Petr. 89, vs. 41: *Stupere mentes* (at sight of the sea-serpents). Cf. Poe. 1250 and Apul. Met. 3.12.

play was a failure, since the audience 'studio stupidus in funambulo / animum occuparat'.⁶⁶

More interesting are cases in which *stupere* etc. refer, not to a temporary, but to a permanent condition of physical and more especially mental sluggishness. Both connotations are probably to be found in Catullus' description of a too careless husband: 'Talis iste meus stupor nil videt, nihil audit, / ipse qui sit, utrum sit an non sit, id quoque nescit'.⁶⁷ A few passages may also be cited where the reference is purely mental, such as the following fragment of Varro's Menippean Satires: 'Andromeda vineta et proposita ceto non debuit patri suo, homini stupidissimo, in os spuere vitam?'⁶⁸ Cicero uses *stupidus* in the same way, referring for example to the *incredibilem stupiditatem* of Antony.⁶⁹ In view of the comparative rarity of the word, it is interesting that it should have been chosen as the name of one of the characters in the mime. There have been found epitaphs of such *stupidi*, who often played the rôle of the deceived husband.⁷⁰

The belief that to be struck by an evil spirit is productive of dire consequences, madness or death, may also be expressed by a reference to the hand that strikes the blow. A good illustration is provided by the following lines of an epitaph from the first century A.D.:

In quantum surgens comprehensus deprimor annum,
cum possem matri dulcis et esse patri.
Eripuit me saga manus crudelis ubique,
cum manet in terris et nocit arte sua.⁷¹

⁶⁶ 4-5. Cf. Apul. Met. 2.2: Sic attonitus, immo vero cruciabili desiderio stupidus; perhaps Acc. Trag. 287: Ita imperitus stupiditate erumpit se, impos consili; Petr. 25.3, 31.1; Mart. 4.35.3, 5.63.3, 12.15.4, 52.6; Juv. 6.87, 13.16, 164 (cf. *miratur* in 162). In most of these passages *stupere* implies surprise or admiration. Cf. also Apul. Met. 5.2: Psyche . . . prolectante studiopulcherrimae visionis rimatur singula et . . . horrea sublimi fabrica perfecta magnisque congesta gazis conspicit . . . Haec ei summa cum voluptate visenti offert sese vox . . . et 'quid,' inquit, 'domina, tantis obstupescis opibus'; Cic. Parad. 37; Petr. 29.1: Ceterum ego dum omnia stupeo, paene resupinatus crura mea fregi, and 57.11; Plin. Pan. 31.6 (quoted by Mayor on Juv. 13.16). In Juv. 4. 119: Nemo magis rhombum stupuit, *stupere* must refer to the expression of admiration.

⁶⁷ 17.21-2. Cf. Mart. 11.7.1.

⁶⁸ 406, quoted by Non. 400.10 to illustrate his definition of *stupidus* as 'stultus et inicus'. Cf. Petr. 41.5; Mart. 9.94.3, 14.210.1.

⁶⁹ Phil. 2.80; cf. 3.22, Fat. 10.

⁷⁰ Cf. Kroll, RE 4A 422-3; Wüst, RE 15.1748.

⁷¹ CLE 987 = CIL 6.19747.3-6. Cf. CIL 6.18817.8: Quo tempore vivere debui-ma mala manu disparati sumus (cited by Ryan on Petr. 63.10; Friedländer's note on Petr. 63.10; and Weinreich, Antike Heilungswunder 57-62 (RVV 8.1, Giessen 1909).

In a passage from the *Cistellaria*, which is closely parallel in language, madness rather than death is seen as the result of an encounter with a witch. When the young man *Alcesimarchus* calls for his arms like a general going to war, his slave remarks, '*Sanus hic non est satis*', and *Gymnasium* comments, '*Manu esse credo nocitum, quom illaec sic facit.*'⁷² *Amphitruo* comes to the same conclusion with respect to *Sosia*, who insists that he has been in two places at once: '*Huic homini nescioquid est mali mala obiectum manu / postquam a me abiit.*'⁷³ That in both these passages, *manu* is to be taken quite literally is indicated by an episode from *Trimalchio's* ghost-story, in which the mourning for a boy that had just died was interrupted by the screeching of witches. A Cappadocian who was present rushed outdoors to do battle with the creatures and wounded one of them. When he came back, '*corpus totum lividum habebat quasi flagellis caesus, quia scilicet illum tetigerat mala manus.*' After this experience, the unfortunate man '*numquam coloris sui fuit, immo post paucos dies phreneticus periit.*'⁷⁴

As we have seen,⁷⁵ in the case of words whose literal meaning is 'seized', it is not always easy to determine just what lies back of the metaphor. With *cantare* and its compounds however we are clearly in the realm of magic, since the recitation of charms is often an essential part of magical rites.⁷⁶ The one passage which must be considered here is a fragment of the *Bacchides* assigned by *Lindsay* to *Pistoclerus*. '*Nam credo quoivis excantare cor potes*', says the young man, presumably addressing his sweetheart.⁷⁷ *Excantare*, as distinguished from other compounds of *cantare*, means to charm a person or thing away from its previous location.⁷⁸ In two passages where it occurs, love charms are meant. *Propertius* so refers to his verses in a

⁷² 289-90. Cf. D. Paschall, CP 33.309-11 (1938).

⁷³ 605-6.

⁷⁴ 63.4-10. Cf. Schuster, Wien. St. 48.168-71 (1930), 49.86.7 (1931).

⁷⁵ P. 39.

⁷⁶ Cf. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. die antike Zauberei* 22-3 and 240-1 (RVV 4.2, Giessen, 1908); Hopfner, RE 14.364; TLL 3.291.13-33, 464.49-74.

⁷⁷ 27.

⁷⁸ Punishment was decreed by the Twelve Tables to any one '*qui fruges excantasset*,' i.e. who laid a charm on his neighbor's crops so as to transfer them to his own field (VIII 8a, Bruns, *Fontes* 30). Cf. Varr. Sat. 151: *Ubi vident se cantando ex ara excantare non posse, deripere incipiunt*; Luc. 6.685-6, 9.931; Fr. Beckmann, *Zauberei u. Recht in Roms Frühzeit* 1-16 (Münster diss., Osnabrück, 1923).

poem where he imagines himself visiting Mount Helicon to drink from the stream that inspired Ennius. Calliope dissuades the poet, telling him that it is his task as a *magister amandi* to sing of drunken lovers quarreling on a lady's doorstep, so that any one who wishes to fool a puritanical husband 'per te clausas sciat excantare puellas', i.e., 'shall know how by the spell of your verses to induce a girl to steal out of the house for a rendezvous with him.'⁷⁹ A better parallel to the Bacchides fragment is provided by a passage in the catalogue of witchcraft from the sixth book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Among the accomplishments of the Thessalian hags which he outlines is the power, by potions, or even by charms alone, to make the most sedate old men fall passionately in love:

flamisque severi
illicitis arsere senes. Nec noxia tantum
pocula proficiunt, aut cum turgentia suco
frontis amaturae subducunt pignora fetae.
Mens hausti nulla sanie polluta veneni
excantata perit.⁸⁰

Cor is often used in much the same sense as *mens* or *animus*, and in the line from the Bacchides it evidently is synonymous with *mens* in the Lucan passage. This is but another illustration of the notion that love is a form of madness.⁸¹

A magical connotation is possibly also to be seen in the two cases of *delenire* that refer to madness. When Alcmena persists in affirming her chastity, despite the damaging evidence against her, and sets forth her idea of what a good wife should be, Amphitruo in complete bewilderment exclaims, 'Delenitus sum profecto ita ut me qui sim nesciam.'⁸² The other example is from the *Cistellaria*. The young lover, Alcesimarchus, infuriated because the procuress Melaenis will not let him see his sweetheart, tries to swear that he will exact a terrible vengeance,

⁷⁹ 3.3.49. Cf. Apul. Apol. 84: Dic tu quibus verbis epistulam finierit mulier obcantata, vecors, amens, amans: 'Εγὼ οὐτε μεμάνευμαι οὐτ' ἐρῶ.

⁸⁰ 6.453-8. Cf. Beckmann, *Zauberei u. Recht* 10.1.

⁸¹ For examples of *cor* 'mind', cf. TLL 4.935.80 ff., esp. Cic. Tusc. 1.18. See below p. 79. Reisch, TLL 4.931.78 ff., possibly inspired by Non. 102.7, classifies Ba. 27 along with Petr. 63.8; Apul. Met. 1.13, 18; CIL 10.8249, and citations from Audollent's *Defixionum Tabellae* as a special group of references to the use of the heart in magic. Cf. Beckmann, *Zauberei u. Recht* 9-10. This is surely wrong. Witches do not secure human flesh merely by enchantment; they may use spells on their victims, but they bite or cut off what they need, as readers of the stories of Socrates and Thelyphron will remember: Apul. Met. 1.13, 2.30.

⁸² Am. 844. Cf. Brotherton 84-5.

but is so angry that he confuses the relationships of the gods on whom he calls. Melaenis mischievously corrects his mistakes, till he finally breaks off with the words, 'Tu me delenis, propter te haec pecco.'⁸³ The situation differs from that in the Amphitruo scene in that Alcmene is trying to conciliate Amphitruo, while Melaenis' attitude toward Alcesimarchus is openly antagonistic.

If we had the Amphitruo passage alone to explain, there would be no difficulty. *Delenire* is used in rhetorical works of winning the favor of an audience by soft words,⁸⁴ and in a fragment of Sextus Turpilius, a woman who has apparently dissolved into tears at the psychological moment is called a *delenifica mulier*.⁸⁵ Amphitruo's remark then, if spoken ironically, might well mean, 'I am so overcome by your fine phrases that I don't even know who I am.'⁸⁶

For Alcesimarchus' complaint to Melaenis however some other interpretation must be found. In a fragment of Afranius, *delenimenta* is used as a synonym of *venena* 'philtre':

Si possent homines delenimentis capi,
omnes haberent nunc amatores anus,
aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio,
haec sunt venena formosarum mulierum;
mala aetas nulla delenimenta invenit.⁸⁷

⁸³ 517.

⁸⁴ Cic. De Orat. 1.36, Brut. 246, Off. 2.48; Fronto Ad M. Caes. 1.8.3, p. 22 N (1.120 Haines). Cf. As. 434, St. 457, St. Arg. 4; Apul. Met. 3.11.

⁸⁵ 29-30: Vide mirum ingenium ac delenificam mulierem; / commorat hominem lacrimis. Cf. 186, where Ribbeck reads *meretricis delenificae*, and Mi. 191-2: Domi habet . . . dolos, domi delenifica facta, domi fallacias. There is no reason to suppose with Brotherton, Vocab. of Intrigue 85, that any notion of magic is involved in *delenifica facta*. Cf. also Sen. Contr. 2.7.9; Lampr. Comm. 8.6.

⁸⁶ The TLL 5.432.75 marks the passage as spoken 'iocose'. Non. 279.39 gives three definitions for *delenitus*: *placatus*, *delectatus*, and *mente alienatus*, citing under the third rubric Am. 844 and two other passages (Lucil. 918 and Titin. 70-2), in which *delenitus* does not have the same meaning. Ussing explains *delenitus* here as 'quasi fascinatione et incantamentis mente privatus', and *delenis* in Ci. 517 as 'mentem perturbas', referring to Nonius, but citing no parallel. Palmer compares *κηληθείς*, perhaps wishing to suggest that *delenitus* is a translation of the Greek, which is possible here, but not in Ci. 517.

⁸⁷ 378-82. Cf. Tib. 1.5.43-4. The sentiment may well have a Greek background, though no exact parallel is extant; cf. Menand. 646 K and Eur. Andr. 205-8, cited by Ribbeck ad loc., and Leo, Plaut. Forsch.² 145. In Menander we find *φίλτρον*, and in Euripides *φίλτρον* and *φάρμακον* as equivalents of *delenimenta*. Macrobius, Sat. 7.1.18, translates by *delenimentum* the *φάρμακον νηπενθές* which Helen puts into the wine, Od. 4.220-1. Laberius 134-6, cited by Fronto Ad M.

The two words are again joined in Livy's story of the investigation into the Dionysiac celebrations. The mother of a young man who refuses to be initiated into the cult blames his attitude on his mistress: 'Illius excetrae (i.e. Hispalae libertinae) delenimentis et venenis imbutum nec parentis nec vitrici nec deorum verecundiam habere.'⁸⁸ In these and in other cases, *delenire* and *delenimentum* imply the use of magic to attract some one. The Cistellaria passage appears to be without a parallel, but can perhaps be best explained on the assumption that *delenire*, as it meant 'to win over by means of magic', could also mean 'to bewitch', regardless of the object in view.⁸⁹

So far we have dealt only with terms which stress the fact of an individual's subjection to some supernatural power. There are yet to be discussed expressions in which the name of such a power is the important element. A convenient transition to this form of expression is furnished by phrases involving the verb *agitare*.⁹⁰

Caes. 1.7.3, p. 19 N (1.166 Haines), is rather puzzling. Wishing to say that nothing could have pleased him more than Marcus' action in declaiming parts of a speech of his to the emperor, Fronto writes: Verum est profecto, quod ait noster Laberius, ad amorem iniciendum delenimenta esse deleramenta (deliberamenta cod.), beneficia autem veneficia. Neque poculo aut veneno quisquam tantum flammae ad amatorem incussisset, praeut tu et facto hoc stupidum et attonitum <me> ardente amore tuo reddidisti. Haines translates the quotation, 'In inspiring love charms are but harms and the foison of gifts poison,' but if the text is right, the two clauses cannot be synonymous, since *deleramenta* can hardly mean anything but 'nonsense' (cf. TLL s.v. and above, p. 35), while Fronto's next sentence shows that *veneficia* must be taken in the sense of 'philtre', not 'poison'. Cf. Apul. Apol. 102: O grave veneficium dicam an ingratum beneficium, where the author is speaking of his marriage. The sense of the Laberius fragment would seem to be, 'In winning love, potions are worthless; the doing of favors is the true philtre.'

⁸⁸ 39.11.2. Cf. 40.11.3: Qui hinc integri et sinceri Romam eunt, Philippum regem se habere credentes, imbuti illinc et infecti Romanis delenimentis redeunt. While *venena* are not spoken of here, it is clear from the words *infecti* and *imbuti* (cf. *delenimentis* . . . *imbutum* above) that *delenimentis* has the same meaning. Cf. also Macr. Sat. 5.19.11: Omnino autem ad rem divinam pleraque aenea adhiberi solita multa indicio sunt, et in his maxime sacris, quibus delinire aliquos aut devovere aut denique exigere morbos volebant. The meaning of *delenire* here is fixed by the contrast with *devovere*: to win a lover, to curse an enemy, and to cure disease would be the natural objects of magical rites.

⁸⁹ If this passage is based on a Greek model, the original probably had some form of the verbe *θελγω*, perhaps construed with an infinitive, as in Aesch. Prom. 865; Soph. Trach. 355, Ael. N. A. 10.14. In Anth. P. 9.544, *θελγω* means 'to create magically'; cf. Pind. Nem. 4.3.

⁹⁰ The metaphor is perhaps taken from riding a horse. Verg. Aen. 6.77-80 has a similar figure, though differently expressed; cf. Norden ad loc.

There are half a dozen instances in Plautus of the expressions *quae res te agitat* and *quae crux te agitat*, in most of which *sanun es* or its equivalent could be substituted without changing the context.⁹¹ Menaechmus II answers the torrent of abuse he gets from the wife of Menaechmus I, a perfect stranger to him, with, 'Quae res te agitat, mulier?' When she continues, he compares her to Hecuba, and finally asks, 'Sanan es?''⁹² Again, Palinurus obviously thinks Phaedromus has lost his reason when he pours out perfectly good wine on his lady-love's doorstep. 'Profundis vinum', he says. 'Quae te res agitant?''⁹³ 'Quae te mala crux agitat?' asks the slave impudently when the old miser, catching him loitering near the shrine where the gold is hidden, frantically accuses him of theft,⁹⁴ and with practically the same words Pistoclerus scolds the parasite for making a fearful din at the door of his house.⁹⁵ The two expressions seem quite synonymous; if there is any difference between them, *quae te mala crux agitat* is the more impolite, since *crux*, which means 'torment' or 'anxiety', is often used as an imprecation.⁹⁶ The English expression, 'What the devil's got into you?' is semantically equivalent and has about the same tone.

One case of *agitare* merits special consideration. It occurs in the Persa, where Sagaristio and Toxilus are trying to sell the parasite's daughter to the slave-dealer Dordalus. Dordalus and Sagaristio haggle over the price, till the latter announces that he will positively go no lower than sixty minas. Dordalus is still undecided and asks Toxilus his advice. 'Di deaeque te agitant irati, scelus', is the prompt reply, 'qui hanc non properes destinare.'⁹⁷ As the word *irati* shows, Toxilus means that the dealer must be under a curse from heaven to hesitate over so tempting an offer. If we except Au. 642, which is not quite parallel,⁹⁸ this is the only instance in comedy where gods are said to 'drive' men mad. Outside of comedy, in all but a very few cases, the notion of divine retribution is involved in expressions of this sort.⁹⁹ The madness is usually brought about by Furies, and about half the

⁹¹ Mer. 134 and Mo. 518 are possible exceptions.

⁹² Men. 710, 714 ff., 738.

⁹³ Cu. 92.

⁹⁴ Au. 631. Cf. 653: *Insanis*; and 642: *Larvae hunc atque intemperiae insani-aeque agitant senem*. Here the idea of madness lies much more in the nouns than in the verb *agitare*.

⁹⁵ Ba. 584.

⁹⁶ Cf. Ramsay, *The Mostellaria of Plautus* 259 (London, 1869).

⁹⁷ 666-7.

⁹⁸ See below, 62.

⁹⁹ Exceptions are Ov. F. 6.5; Plin. N.H. 30.84; perhaps Stat. Silv. 3.3.70.

instances refer directly or indirectly to the matricides, Orestes and Alcmæon.¹⁰⁰ That Toxilus should pretend to think the slave-dealer belonged in this category is not surprising.

In phrases like *di te agitant*, both the noun describing a supernatural power and the verb referring to its influence are significant; in other cases, only the identity of the power is revealed, while the manner of its action is ignored. Such words have as their root the name of a god or spirit, who may be but vaguely conceived, e.g. Anglo-Saxon *gydig* (cf. English *god*), and Greek *δαιμονᾶν*, *κακοδαιμονᾶν*.¹⁰¹ More often however we find the name of a particular divinity, or at least of a class of spirits, such as nymphs or elves.

Theoretically at least, any god, by his divine power, could so possess a victim or a worshipper as to drive him mad. In the treatise on the Sacred Disease, we learn that professional healers were wont to ascribe epileptic fits to the influence of Cybele, Poseidon, Apollo Nomius, Ares, or Hecate and the heroes, according to the symptoms in each instance.¹⁰² While such a systematic classification is doubtless of priestly rather than popular origin, still it shows that at the time of the writer, people saw nothing incongruous in the idea that these various divinities should be responsible for disease. One would expect the same belief to be held both in Greece and in Rome in regard to the phenomena of madness, which may be as striking and as inexplicable as those of epilepsy. Certain deities however seem to have been particularly connected with madness, and to these we shall now turn our attention.

In a study of Greek beliefs in regard to divine or demoniacal possession, Tambornino found that the gods regularly associated with it were personified diseases, divinities like Dionysus and Cybele, whose worship was orgiastic, the nymphs, Pan, the various moon-goddesses, and

¹⁰⁰ Cic. S. Rosc. 66-7, Leg. 1.40; Verg. Aen. 3.331 (cf. 4.471); Curt. 6.10.14; Quint. Decl. 314, p. 235.15R; Ov. Met. 9.410; cf. Hor. Sat. 2.3.135 and TLL 1.1331.7-24. In Liv. 29.18.15 and Quint. Decl. 324, p. 277.14-5R, the matricides are not involved. Cf. also Cic. Verr. 2.6.

¹⁰¹ In early Greek, *δαίμων* is merely 'der Ausdruck dafür, dass eine höhere Kraft ein Geschehen hervorgebracht hat' (Nilsson, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 22.379 [1923-24]). Cf. Heinze, Xenocrates 83-5 (Leipzig, 1892). The adjective *κακοδαίμων* usually means 'unfortunate', but may refer to madness in Plat. Symp. 173d. Cf. Vesp. 1 ff. For the verbs, cf. L-S s.vv., e.g. Menand. H.T. 140 K: *πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δαιμονῆς, γεγονῶς ἔτη / τοσαῦθ'*. Cf. Ter. H.T. 61-3, and O'Brien-Moore, 14-8. Latin has no precise equivalent.

¹⁰² 4 (6.360-2 L). Cf. Eur. Hipp. 141-7: *σὺ γὰρ ἐνθεός, ὦ κοῦρα, / εἴτ' ἐκ Πανὸς εἴθ' Ἐκάτας / ἢ σεμνῶν Κορυβάντων φοι/τᾶς ἢ ματρός ὀρείας; / σὺ δ' ἄμφι τὰν πολύθηρον Δι/κτυνναν ἀμπλακλαῖς ἀνίε/ρος ἀθύτων πελάων τρύχη;*

the spirits of the dead.¹⁰³ In all these cases, the possession might manifest itself in the form of madness. The Roman list is somewhat different. It is rather surprising to find that the moon, which is the source of so many Germanic expressions,¹⁰⁴ does not seem to have been considered a cause of madness by the Romans at all.¹⁰⁵ The word *lunaticus*, which serves to translate such Greek words as *σεληνιαῖον*, is found only in late texts,¹⁰⁶ and then ordinarily in the sense of 'epileptic', not of 'crazy'.¹⁰⁷ Horace, it is true, describing the plight of the *vesanus poeta*, writes:

Ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urguet
aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana,
vesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poetam
qui sapiunt,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ De Antiq. Daem. 62-73. For possession by the spirits of the dead, cf. also R. Ganszyniec, *Eos* 34.485-8 (1932-3).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Zabel 1-2.

¹⁰⁵ Whether the Greeks saw any connection between the moon and madness, or between the moon and epilepsy for that matter, until a late period is open to question. The texts cited by Roscher, *Ueber Selene u. Verwandtes* 69-70, nn. 270 and 272 (Leipzig, 1890), and by Tambornino, 67-9, following Roscher, all date from the Christian era, except Hipp. M. Sacr. 4 (6.362 L); Eur. Hipp. 141-2; Soph. Aj. 172 ff.; Timotheos fr. 1 Bergk (PLG 3.620). The first two refer to Hecate, who was primarily associated with ghosts rather than with the moon. Cf. Heckenbach, RE 7.2770, 2778-9, and Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* 2.501-19, esp. 509 ff. (Oxford, 1896). Soph. Aj. 172 reads *Ταυροπόλα Διὸς Ἄρτεμις*; neither the cult of Artemis Tauropolos, 'protectress of cattle', nor that of the Tauric Artemis, with which it was merged, had anything to do with the moon. Cf. Jebb ad loc., Wernicke, RE 2.1375, 1399-1400, and esp. Farnell, 2.451-2. The Timotheos fragment refers to the Ephesian Artemis (cf. Macr. 5.22.4-5), who was likewise not a moon goddess. Cf. Wernicke, RE 2.1372-3 and Farnell, 2.480-2. *Βεκεσέληνος* 'antediluvian' (?) seems to have been coined by Aristophanes, Nub. 398 on the model of *προσέληνος*. According to the scholiast, the first element is derived from *βέκος*, a Phrygian word for bread. Cf. Starkie ad loc. That even at a late period the moon was connected particularly with epilepsy rather than with madness is shown by the fact that the words *σεληνιαῖον*, *σεληνιαῖον*, and *σεληνιακός* almost always refer to epilepsy. The names of remedies for the disease—*σεληνίτης λίθος*, *σελήμιον*, etc. (Roscher 70)—point in the same direction. The importance of the moon in later belief on the subject of madness is doubtless to be attributed partly to the process of syncretism whereby moon goddesses were assimilated to divinities like the Ephesian Artemis, and much more to the spread of astrology. Cf. e.g. Firm. Math. 4.5, and E. Wüst, RE 16.111.

¹⁰⁶ Paul. Dig. 21.1.43.6; Vulg. Matt. 4.24, 17.14 (the Greek has *σεληνιαῖον εἶναι* in both places; cf. J. Weiss, *Realenc. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche* 3.4412.26-54); Firm. Math. passim (cf. Kroll-Skutsch, *Index s.v.*); Ps. Apul. Herb. 9.1, 57.1, 65.1; Isid. Orig. 4.7.6. Cf. Roscher, *Selene u. Verw.* 69-70, nn. 270, 272.

¹⁰⁷ Ps. Acro on Hor. A. P. 454 seems to be the only exception.

¹⁰⁸ A. P. 453-6.

but he is almost certainly referring to priests of some oriental goddess identified with Artemis.¹⁰⁹ The Roman Faunus moreover, although identified with Pan, did not adopt the latter's function of inspiring sudden and unreasoning fear or morbid depression,¹¹⁰ and the Latin equivalent of *πανικός* appears rather to be *lymphaticus*.¹¹¹ Concerning the other deities on Tambornino's list, linguistic evidence shows that much of the same conceptions prevailed among the Romans as among the Greeks, although the forms of expression might not be identical in every case.

In the religious ecstasy inspired by the Dionysiac celebrations, the worshipper sought to identify himself with his god, so that both he and the god could be called by the same name *βάκχος*. This name and several of its derivatives were borrowed by the Roman poets, *βάκχη*, for example, becoming *baccha*, and *βακχεύω*, *bacchor*.¹¹² The wild behavior of the devotees was so notorious that with it might be compared similar manifestations of emotional or mental derangement, no matter what

¹⁰⁹ Perhaps the goddess of Perge, whose priests wandered about begging. Cf. Suid. s.v. *ἡ Περγὰ Ἀρτεμις*; Ov. Ex Ponto 1.1.41; Wernicke, RE 2.1374-5, 1397; Kiessling-Heinze on Hor. A. P. 454. Horace may however have meant the priests of Ma-Bellona (cf. Sat. 2.3.223), with whom the Taurian Artemis was sometimes identified; cf. Hartmann, RE 14.89. Cf. possibly Maxim. Taur. Serm. 101 (Migne 57.734): Cum . . . videris saucium vino rusticum, scire debes quoniam, sicut dicunt, aut dianaticus aut aruspex est; insane enim numen amentem solet habere pontificem; talis enim sacerdos parat se vino ad plagas deae suae, ut dum est ebrius poenam suam ipse non sentiat. Rostagni however in his note on A.P. 454, following Ps. Acro, 'sicut lunaticum aut morbosum ita insanum poetam fugiunt sapientes,' sees in the passage a reference to the *σεληνόβλητοι* or *σεληνιακοί*, whose frenzy was affected by the phases of the moon. This theory involves separating *iracunda Diana* from *fanaticus error*, a construction which the use of the conjunction *et* instead of *aut* would tend to invalidate, and Rostagni gives no citations to support his interpretation of *σεληνόβλητοι*.

¹¹⁰ Eur. Hipp. 141-2. Cf. L-S⁹ s.v. *πανικός* and E. Harrison, Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc. 1924.26. The word does not occur before Polybius. The only comparable Latin passage is Val. Fl. 3.46-7: Deus ancipitem lymphaverat urbem / Mygdoniae Pan iussa ferens saevissima matris, which obviously has a Greek background. Even here the poet uses *lymphaverat* to describe Pan's activity. Faunus does seem however to have had at times the character of a baleful imp who caused nightmares, e.g. Plin. N. H. 30.84 (cf. Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus d. Römer² 211 [Munich, 1912]); he had also the gift of clairvoyance, cf. esp. Dion. Hal. 5.16.3. (L-S cites *τὰ πανικά* in this passage as meaning 'panic fears', but the interpretation finds no support in the evidence.)

¹¹¹ See below p. 60.

¹¹² Cf. TLL s. vv. *baccha* and *bacchor*. On the significance of the madness induced by the rites, cf. Rohde, Psyche 2.4-22, 38-43; trans. Hillis, 255-60, 282-4.

their cause.¹¹³ In a fragment of Varro's Menippean Satires, Ajax, whose madness was sent by Athena, is thus described: 'Ajax tum credit ferro se caedere Ulixem, / cum bacchans silvam caedit porcosque trucidat.'¹¹⁴ Again, while Amphitruo accuses Alcmena of lying or of being crazy when she insists that she has already seen him since his return from war, Sosia momentarily decides to follow her lead, explaining to his master that this is the wiser course:

Non tu scis? Bacchae bacchanti si velis advorsarier,
ex insana insaniorem facies, feriet saepius;
si opsequare, una resolvas plaga.¹¹⁵

A study of the meagre linguistic material provided by the worship of the Great Mother reveals an entirely different situation. That she was thought to send madness is clear from the words of the chorus in Euripides' Hippolytus: σὺ γὰρ ἔνθεος . . . ἐκ σεμνῶν Κορυβάντων . . . φοιτᾷς ἢ ματρὸς ὀρείας,¹¹⁶ although μητρόληπτος is quoted only from Hermias' fifth century commentary on the Phaedrus.¹¹⁷ Her attendants the Corybantes, moreover, gave their name to a wildly hysterical condition induced in their worshippers.¹¹⁸ But, unlike βάκχη etc., neither μητρόληπτος nor κορυβαντιᾶν got into Roman speech. This is not surprising, since the worship of Dionysus was imported into Italy from Greece, after having played so important a rôle in Greek literature that its vocabulary was inevitably adopted by Roman writers, while the cult of Cybele came to Italy directly from the Orient, and had moreover left a comparatively slight impression on Greek life and literature.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, there is no native Latin word derived from the name of the Magna Mater or of the closely related divinity Ma-Bellona. That the barbaric ceremonial of these cults made a great impression on the Romans however is shown by the word *fanaticus* which, meaning literally a 'person attached to a temple', referred to the devotees of the

¹¹³ Ordinary violence is also described in terms appropriate to Dionysiac celebrations, e.g. Au. 408-9; Ad. 184-5.

¹¹⁴ 125.

¹¹⁵ Am. 703-5.

¹¹⁶ 141-4.

¹¹⁷ P. 105 Ast.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Schwenn, RE 11.2259-61; Burnet on Plat. Crito 54d.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Cumont, RE 7.675-7. The rare participle *gallans*, formed on the analogy of *bacchans*, seems to have been used only of the *galli* (Varr. Sat. 119, 150; Plin. N. H. 21.182).

Oriental religions par excellence.¹²⁰ The metaphorical use of the word is rare, and limited to cases in which some notion of religious madness can be found. Cicero uses it twice, both times in connection with *superstitio*. Arguing ironically that there is no point in excessive piety, he asks Clodius, 'Quid tibi necesse fuit anili superstitione homo fanaticae sacrificium quod alienae domi fieret invisere? Quae autem te tanta mentis imbecillitas tenuit, ut non putares deos satis posse placari, nisi etiam muliebribus religionibus te implicuisses?'¹²¹ Again, in an attack on the believers in oracles, he says, 'Sed nescio quo modo isti philosophi superstitiosi et paene fanatici quidvis malle videntur quam se non ineptos.'¹²² In Christian writings, *fanaticus* came to be merely a synonym of *gentilis* or 'pagan'.¹²³

A belief that the nymphs caused madness may not be certainly attributed to the Greeks of the classical and Hellenistic periods. As spirits of woods, caves, and particularly springs, they were associated with oracles and consequently believed to endow mortals with powers of clairvoyance.¹²⁴ *Νυμφόληπτος* then usually means 'inspired' or 'enthusiastic'.¹²⁵ Socrates feels that the nymphs of the spring by which he sits discoursing with Phaedrus inspire him to a lofty style of speech,¹²⁶ and the author of the Eudemian Ethics asks if happiness is inherited or taught or acquired by habit ἢ τούτων μὲν κατ' οὐδένα τῶν τρόπων, δυοῖν δὲ θάτερον, ἥτοι καθάπερ οἱ νυμφόληπτοι καὶ θεόληπτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιπνοίᾳ δαιμονίου τινὸς ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ἢ διὰ τύχην.¹²⁷ On the other hand, according to the superstition of the farmer, the nymphs were potentially harmful spirits who might, we may suppose, take away a man's wits.

¹²⁰ E.g. Juv. 2.112, 4.123 (cf. Mayor ad loc.); Ulp. Dig. 21.1.1.9; for inscriptions, cf. Ruggiero, Diz. Epigr. di Ant. Rom. s.v.; Samter, RE 6.1986, and TLL s.v. The word *fanum*, from which *fanaticus* was apparently derived on the analogy of *lymphaticus* (Walde-H 453), designated particularly the temples of non-Roman gods, as the inscriptions show (Ruggiero s.v.).

¹²¹ Dom. 105.

¹²² Div. 2.118.

¹²³ Cf. TLL 6.270.81-271.23.

¹²⁴ Bloch, Lex. Myth. 3.513-5.

¹²⁵ Cf. Hesych. s.v.; Poll. 1.19.

¹²⁶ Plat. Phaedr. 238cd: τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεῖος ἔοικεν ὁ τόπος εἶναι, ὥστε ἐὰν ἄρα πολλάκις νυμφόληπτος προΐδοντος τοῦ λόγου γένημαι, μὴ θαυμάσης. Cf. 230b, and Kroll, Studien 24-5.

¹²⁷ 1214a15-24. Plutarch refers to a cave of the Sphragitic nymphs on Mt. Cithaeron, where there had formerly been an oracle, καὶ πολλοὶ κατείχοντο τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὐδ' νυμφολήπτους προσηγόρευον (Arist. 11, p. 326cd). Cf. IG² 788: Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Θηραῖος ὁ νυμφόληπτος / φραδαῖσι νυμφῶν τάντρον ἐξηργάξατο.

Theocritus calls them *δεναι θεαί ἀγροιώταις*,¹²⁸ and Festus reports that any one who saw a nymph was stricken with madness, a belief which he probably meant to attribute to the Greeks as well as to the Romans.¹²⁹ There is no clear case of *νυμφόληπτος* in the sense of 'mad' in extant Greek texts, but that may be merely due to chance.

As the word *lymphatus* shows, however, there can be no doubt that the Romans knew the water-spirits as senders of madness. Pliny recommends hellebore as a cure for *lymphati* as well as for *melancholici*, *insanientes*, and those suffering from epilepsy.¹³⁰ In the earliest citations, from Pacuvius and Catullus, *lymphatus* is associated with Bacchic revelry,¹³¹ and the lone case of *lymphaticus* in Plautus suggests frenzied dancing. Agorastocles is trying to make a 'date' with Adelphasium, and announces that he has the necessary money, of which she promptly offers to relieve him: AG. Sunt mihi intus nescioquot nummi aurei lymphatici. AD. Deferto ad me, faxo actutum constiterit lymphaticum.¹³² Ramsay translates *nummi aurei lymphatici* by 'gold Philips struggling to make their escape',¹³³ but a slightly different interpretation is suggested by a passage in Apuleius, where the dance of the priests of the Dea Syria is called a *lymphaticum tripudium*.¹³⁴ Agorastocles' gold coins are probably 'dancing madly', like the Oriental priests. Later references show *lymphatus* both in the sense of 'mad' or 'frenzied', as in Vergil's description of Amata's frenzy,¹³⁵ and in that of 'panic-stricken'. Seneca says, for example, that no fear is so dangerous as the *lymphatici metus*, which are caused by something that comes upon a person without warning.¹³⁶

¹²⁸ 13.44. Cf. schol. ad loc.: *παρόσον φόβον ἔσθ' ὅτε αὐτοῖς ἐγγεννώσῃ τε καὶ ἐπάγουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ νυμφολήπτους τινὰς φάμεν.*

¹²⁹ P. Fest. 107.17: *Lymphae dictae sunt a nymphis. Vulgo autem memoriae proditum est quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est effigiem nymphae, viderint, furendi non fecisse finem; quos Graeci νυμφολήπτους vocant, Latini lymphaticos appellant. Cf. the modern Greek parallel in Frazer's note on Ov. F. 4.761.*

¹³⁰ N. H. 25.60. Cf. 24.164, 26.52, 28.226, etc.

¹³¹ Pac. 422-3: *Flexanima tamquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris / commota; Cat. 64.254-5: Quae tum alacres passim lymphata mente furebant / Euhoe bacchantes, euhoe capita inflectentes.*

¹³² Poe. 345-6.

¹³³ Mostellaria, p. 245.

¹³⁴ Met. 8.27. Cf. ibid. 25.

¹³⁵ Aen. 7.377. Cf. Ov. Met. 11.3; Stat. Theb. 10.557; Val. Fl. 3.46; Tac. Ann. 1.32.

¹³⁶ Ep. 13.9. Cf. Sen. N.Q. 6.29; and also Liv. 7.17.3, 10.28.10; Curt. 4.12.14 (with Müttzell's note); Tac. Hist. 1.82; Schol. Theocr. 13.44 (quoted in Note 128).

It is now generally believed, on the authority of Varro,¹³⁷ that *lymphatus* was coined as a translation of *νυμφόληπτος*, and it has even been argued that *lympa* is nothing but *νύμφη*, borrowed at a very early date.¹³⁸ Both propositions may be doubted. The Oscan form *Diumpais*¹³⁹ shows that *lympa*, earlier *lumpa*, cannot be derived from *νύμφη* though, to be sure, both words may be borrowed independently from a non-Indo-European language.¹⁴⁰ *Lymphatus* does not resemble *νυμφόληπτος* in formation, nor, so far as the evidence goes, closely correspond to it in meaning. In particular *νυμφόληπτος* does not ordinarily connote wild dancing nor fear,¹⁴¹ ideas which are prominent in *lymphatus*. It is at least reasonable therefore to suppose that *lymphatus* is a Latin word, which reflects the Roman conception of water spirits,¹⁴² and the development of which owed little or nothing to the influence of *νυμφόληπτος*. Varro may have had no better reason than a fantastic etymology for associating the two words.

That in Greek popular opinion the weird spirits of the underworld, Hecate and her train, among them the souls of the dead, caused madness as well as bodily sickness is clear,¹⁴³ but no single Greek word for madness is derived from this source. In Latin however, there are two adjectives, often used together, which are connected with the names of underworld spirits. These are *cerritus* and *larvatus*, derived from *Ceres* or *Cerrus* and *larva* respectively. Both unquestionably refer to madness, and *cerriti* at least might be violent, as we see from a passage of the Poenulus where the lawyers refuse to run through the streets lest they be stoned 'pro cerritis'.¹⁴⁴ The parallelism of the two words is neatly shown by the question of the physician in the Menaechmi: 'Quid esse illi morbi dixerat? . . . Num larvatust aut cerritus?'¹⁴⁵

¹³⁷ LL. 7.87: <Lymphata> dicta a lympha; <lympa> a nympha, ut quod apud Graecos *Θέτις*, apud Ennium 'Thelis illi mater'. In Graecia commota mente quos *λυμφολήπτους* appellant, ab eo lymphatos dixerunt nostri. The form *λυμφόληπτος*, not attested elsewhere, is suspicious, to say the least.

¹³⁸ Wackernagel, ALL 15.218-20 (1908). Cf. also Walde 446.

¹³⁹ Tab. Agnone 7 (no. 45 Buck = 175 Conway, 200 v. Planta).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Ernout, *Élém. dial.* 195; B. Friedmann, *Arctos* 2.43-4 (1931).

¹⁴¹ Schol. Theoc. 13.44 is the only example. See above p. 59 note 128.

¹⁴² There are traces of a cult of the Lumpae or Lymphae, particularly in Oscan-Umbrian territory. Cf. Schur, RE 13.2468.

¹⁴³ Cf. Rohde, *Psyche* 2.407-13; trans. Hillis, 591-5. To the evidence collected by Tambornino 71-2, add the story from Xenophon of Ephesus 5.7.7-8; cf. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman u. seine Vorläufer* 415, n. 1 (Leipzig, 1914).

¹⁴⁴ Poe. 528. Cf. O'Brien-Moore 62-3.

¹⁴⁵ 889-90. Cf. Am. fr. 8 (12).

Cerriti and *larvati* are, furthermore, treated along the same lines. Since some supernatural influence which should properly be dispelled by ritual and sacrifice is implied in both words, we are not surprised to find Sosia in the *Amphitruo* suggesting that Alcmena be ceremonially purified: 'Quaeso, quin tu istanc iubes / pro cerrita circumferri?'¹⁴⁶ Exactly the same idiom occurs with *larvatus* in a fragment from an unknown play: 'Pro larvato te circumferam.'¹⁴⁷ Still, that the religious significance of the words was not always prominent in the mind of the speaker is shown by the fact that in other passages medical advice is recommended for the sufferer, e.g. 'Quaeso advenienti morbo medicari iube; / tu certe aut larvatus aut cerritus es.'¹⁴⁸

There is some evidence to show that originally the *larvae*, like the *lemures*, were ghostly demons of the underworld. In Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, Janus proposes that in the future candidates for deification shall be turned over to the *larvae* for a beating,¹⁴⁹ and Pliny quotes a proverb, 'cum mortuis non nisi larvas luctari'.¹⁵⁰ They were however early identified with the spirits of the dead. Varro is quoted as having so defined them,¹⁵¹ and later antiquarians developed the idea, making fine distinctions among *Lares*, *Larvae*, *Lemures*, and *Manes*.¹⁵² *Larvae* were accordingly represented as skeletons,¹⁵³ or as marked by the pallor characteristic of ghosts.¹⁵⁴ It is in the latter form that the *larva* appears in Apuleius' story of the miller's death. In response to the machinations of a witch, an old woman 'reatu miraque tristitie deformis . . . lurore buxoe macieque foedata' seeks a private interview with the miller. Later the unfortunate victim is found hanging from a beam, while the woman has vanished. The miller then informs his daughter in a dream 'quem ad modum larvatus ad inferos demeasset'.¹⁵⁵

Whether these baleful spirits were conceived of as evil demons or as

¹⁴⁶ Am. 775-6. Amphitruo's response (776-7) is interesting: Edepol quo facto est opus; / nam haec quidem edepol larvarum plenast.

¹⁴⁷ Fab. Inc. 169 Lindsay.

¹⁴⁸ Am. fr. 8 (12). Cf. fr. 6 (7).

¹⁴⁹ 9.3.

¹⁵⁰ N. H. praef. 31. Cf. W. F. Otto, *Die Manen, oder von d. Urformen d. Totenglaubens* 54-55 (Berlin, 1923).

¹⁵¹ Arnob. 3.41.

¹⁵² Cf. Kock, RE 12.879.

¹⁵³ Petr. 34.8.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Kock, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁵ Met. 9.30-1. Cf. ibid. 29, where the miller's wife urges on the witch to cause her husband's death 'larva vel aliquo diro numine immisso.'

souls of the dead, their principal activity appears to have been the causing of madness. Alcmena is declared by her puzzled husband to be 'larvarum plena'.¹⁵⁶ When Euclio angrily demands that the slave show him what he has in his 'third hand', the *larvae* get their share of the blame for the miser's absurd conduct. 'Larvae hunc atque intemperiae insaniaeque agitant senem', says the boy.¹⁵⁷ As we have seen, except for the Apuleius passage noted above, the participle *larvatus* refers to insanity. The derivative adjective *larvaticus*, modeled perhaps on *lunaticus*, is defined by Isidore as 'epileptic'.¹⁵⁸

Of *cerritus*, different explanations were given by ancient grammarians; modern scholars have usually followed that of Nonius and Priscian, who derived it from the name of Ceres.¹⁵⁹ Others have attempted to connect *cerritus* with Cerrus, a masculine counterpart of Ceres invoked in the Carmen Saliare.¹⁶⁰ The question is difficult to decide, as the suffix remains obscure in either case, and both divinities may have suitable attributes, though the evidence in the case of Ceres is much clearer. About all we know of the function of Cerrus in Roman cult is Festus' definition 'Cerus manus intellegitur creator bonus', which is probably based on etymology.¹⁶¹ During the lustration of the army prescribed by the Iguvine Tables, however, prayers are addressed to *Šerfe Martie* 'Cerro Martio', who is asked to preserve the Iguvines and overwhelm their enemies. With him are associated two other divinities, *Prestota Šerfia Šerfer Martier*, whose function is uncertain, and *Tursa Šerfia Šerfer Martier*, whose name is almost certainly connected with *terreo* and means the goddess 'Fright'.¹⁶² *Šerfi* furthermore occurs as an epithet of *Honde*, presumably an underworld deity, who is hon-

¹⁵⁶ Am. 777.

¹⁵⁷ Au. 642; cf. Cap. 598.

¹⁵⁸ Orig. 4.7.6.

¹⁵⁹ Non. 44.20: Cerriti et larvati male sani et aut Cereris ira aut larvarum incursatione animo vexati; Prisc. Inst. 4.38 (GLK 2.139.14-5): Avitus, maritus, cerritus ab avo, mare, Cerere. Cf. Ps. Acro ad Sat. 2.3.278, and TLL 3.878.56-72.

¹⁶⁰ Varr. L. L. 7.26. Cf. Maurenbrecher, Fleck. Jahrb. Suppl. 21.322 (1894). The derivation from *Cerus* is accepted by Marx in his note on Ru. 1006 and by Muller Jzn, Altit. Wb. 86; that from *Ceres* by Walde-H 206; E-M 174; Altheim, Terra Mater 128 (RVV 22.2, Giessen, 1931); Osthoff, Etymologische Parerga 1.30 (Leipzig, 1901), is undecided as between the two derivations, either of which would support his thesis, though he is inclined to favor the derivation from *Cerus*. On the suffix, cf. Stolz-Schm. 227.XI.B.

¹⁶¹ P. Fest. 109.7. CIL 12.446: *Keri pocolom*, tells us nothing about the character of *Cerus*.

¹⁶² Tab. Ig. VIb.57, etc. Cf. Buecheler, Umbrica 98-9 (Bonn, 1883).

ored in the final sacrifices of the lustration of the hill.¹⁶³ All these details rather suggest a war-god, but could be reconciled with an underworld divinity whose powers of inflicting evil might be turned against an enemy. It is interesting to note that *Cerrus* might be used in the plural, perhaps, like *larvae*, to designate a group of spirits, according to a Paelignian inscription in which a woman is described as 'Cerfum sacaracirix Semunu'.¹⁶⁴ As long as the character of *Cerrus* cannot be more precisely determined, it is impossible to say whether he was thought to be responsible for madness or not. Such powers would naturally be attributed to an underworld spirit, but hardly to a war-god.

In regard to *Ceres* we are better informed. According to the usual view, which has however been recently challenged,¹⁶⁵ *Ceres* was originally the name of an Italian agricultural deity invoked to prosper the growing crops, but after the worship of *Demeter*, *Dionysus*, and *Kore* was introduced in 496, her cult was almost completely hellenized.¹⁶⁶ This theory, which rests almost entirely upon an assumed etymological connection between *Ceres* and *creare*,¹⁶⁷ is totally at variance with the facts of *Ceres*' cult, and had better be given up. Even in the earliest period, we find indications that *Ceres* was associated with the dead. The sacrifice of the *porca praecidanea* at the beginning of harvest was intended not only to ensure a good crop, but also to atone for any neglect that the farmer might have shown in his duties toward the dead during the preceding year. Though *Varro* states that *Ceres* and *Tellus* were jointly honored by this sacrifice,¹⁶⁸ *Ceres* became so much the more important of the two that *Tellus* is not even mentioned by the other writers.¹⁶⁹ It may be that, as *Wissowa* argues, the expiatory nature of the sacrifice was ignored along with *Tellus*' participation in it, but it is much more probable that to *Ceres* were attributed underworld powers similar to those of *Tellus*.¹⁷⁰ This becomes almost a certainty

¹⁶³ VIb.45 = Ib.4.

¹⁶⁴ 216.4 Conway. The epithet *Semunu* (: *semen*) suggests that by *Cerfum* agricultural spirits are meant, but that is not certain. Cf. Klotz, RE 2A 1356-7. The inscription shows some Greek influence; cf. *Perseponas* in line 5.

¹⁶⁵ Altheim, 108-29.

¹⁶⁶ Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult. 192-4, 297-304.

¹⁶⁷ This etymology is accepted both by E-M and by Walde-H s.v., and even by Altheim 118-9, though he attacks the conclusions based upon it, and argues that *Ceres* was from the beginning simply *Demeter*.

¹⁶⁸ Non. 163.18.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Wissowa, 193-4.

¹⁷⁰ Weinstock in his discussion of *Tellus*, Glotta 22.146-8 (1933-4), and RE 5A 795-7, argues that the *porca praecidanea* as an expiatory offering preliminary

when we remember the so-called *porca praesentanea* sacrificed to Ceres—and not to Tellus—in order to purify the household where a death had occurred.¹⁷¹

If, then, Cerrus cannot be entirely eliminated from consideration, still it is in the name of Ceres, an underworld goddess, that we should probably seek the origin of *cerritus*. The idea that she could cause madness is definitely Italic, not Greek, since Demeter apparently had no such power. Altheim, it is true, arguing that Ceres was from the beginning identical with Demeter, lays great stress on the item *δημητριόληπτος*: *cererosus* in the Pseudo-Cyrillus glossary.¹⁷² Glosses are however very shaky evidence, and until the sources of a glossary have been fully investigated, the burden of proof is upon the person who assumes that any of its material is of classical origin.¹⁷³ Ordinarily the lemma words would be of more importance than the explanations, but since a considerable part of Cyrillus is derived from a Latin-Greek glossary,¹⁷⁴ we cannot be certain that *δημητριόληπτος* is anything but the coinage of a compiler. Moreover, even if this particular item came from a Greek rather than a Latin source, as is possible, we should have to identify the source or otherwise to establish at least a likelihood that the word *δημητριόληπτος* existed in the fifth or fourth century B.C. before we could discuss any possible connections with *cerritus*.¹⁷⁵

Some details in regard to the history of *cerritus* can be obtained from the material collected in the Thesaurus. It was evidently colloquial since, besides the occurrences in Plautus, single cases are cited from

to the harvest was naturally dedicated to the harvest divinities, and that the rite is consequently not valid evidence for a connection of these divinities with the cult of the dead. The similar sacrifice of the *porca praesentanea* cannot however be so explained.

¹⁷¹ Veran. 10 Fun. ap. Fest. 296.37. Cf. Mar. Vict., Art. Gram. 1.4 (GLK 6.25.20-2). It is possible of course that Tellus was originally associated with Ceres in this sacrifice (cf. Wissowa, 194), but if so, Ceres soon overshadowed her. Possibly the pig which it was apparently customary to sacrifice in behalf of a madman was also intended as an offering to Ceres. Cf. Men. 289-92, 310-5.

¹⁷² CGL 2.269.31. Altheim, 126-7.

¹⁷³ Lindsay, Ancient Lore in Medieval Latin Glossaries vii-xii (St. Andrews Univ. Publ. 13, Oxford, 1921). So far as I know the sources of Ps. Cyrill. have not been studied. Cf. Lindsay, CR 31.188-92 (1917).

¹⁷⁴ Lindsay, CR 31.190.

¹⁷⁵ The suspicion that *δημητριόληπτος* is a late form is strengthened by the spelling *δημητρω-* for *δημητρο-*, which is probably due to the analogy of *δαιμονιόληπτος*, cited only from Just. Mart. Apol. 1.18.2.6.

Cicero's letters to Atticus¹⁷⁶ and from Horace's Satires.¹⁷⁷ In the time of Suetonius however the word was sufficiently formal for that author to comment on the fact that Augustus, who leaned to the colloquial in speech, used *vacerrosus* in place of it.¹⁷⁸ Neither word survived in the Romance languages.¹⁷⁹ To the obsolescence of *cerritus* we have an interesting bit of testimony in Martianus Capella, who warns against its use on that ground: 'Sed quia verborum veterum iam exolevit usus, non sunt audacius usurpanda illa quae cum aetate mutata sunt. Itaque alucinari et cerritum et caperratum similiaque praetereuntes utemur his quae consuetudo recipiet.'¹⁸⁰ Martianus wrote in the fifth century, but *cerritus* had no doubt fallen into disuse long before that time. To fix a more definite terminus ante quem, we should have to trace Martianus' statement to its source, which cannot be done with certainty. The whole section on Elocutio, to which this passage belongs, is ascribed to Aquila Romanus,¹⁸¹ but while the definitions of the rhetorical figures correspond closely with Aquila's, the introductory material is not to be found in his work at all. The difficulty can be avoided by supposing that Martianus used a fuller edition of Aquila than the one which we possess.¹⁸² If this be true, we may assume that *cerritus* disappeared from the speech of educated persons at least by the end of the third century.

Of Tambornino's list of spirits that were particularly responsible for madness,¹⁸³ there remain to be discussed personifications of disease. It is always difficult to tell how far personifications of this sort correspond to anything in actual beliefs. Most of the examples cited by Roscher¹⁸⁴ and by Tambornino¹⁸⁵ are mere figures of speech. *Μαρία*

¹⁷⁶ 8.5.1; the emendation *cerritior* for *certior* is accepted by recent editors except Sjögren.

¹⁷⁷ 2.3.278.

¹⁷⁸ Aug. 87.2.

¹⁷⁹ Meyer-Lübke formerly listed *cerritus* as no. 1837 in his Rom. Etym. Wb., but has withdrawn it in the new edition.

¹⁸⁰ 5.509. Martianus uses the diminutive *cerritulus* himself in 8.807.

¹⁸¹ P. 24. 21 ff. Halm. Cf. Wessner, RE 14.2010.

¹⁸² Brzoska, RE 2.316. Aquila in turn copied the work of the Greek grammarian Alexander Numeniu, and so must either have invented his Latin examples or have taken them from some other source, now unknown. Cf. Brzoska, 315-6; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Gesch. d. gr. Litt. 2.2⁴.929.

¹⁸³ See above 54-5.

¹⁸⁴ Myth. Lex. 3.466-7.

¹⁸⁵ 63-4.

however seems to have been a cult name of the Erinyes,¹⁸⁶ and there was a Roman temple of Febris.¹⁸⁷ Fevers were so common that this is hardly surprising. Of honors paid to a personified goddess of madness there is no trace in Roman religion. In colloquial speech however we may have a record of such a personification.

Several times in Plautus occurs the formula *intemperiae tenent (agitant) aliquem*. It is obvious from the context in each case that the person so described is considered mad, in the usual manner of comic exaggeration. The absurd conduct of the old miser Euclio, who accuses every one of stealing something from him, furnishes the grounds for two of the charges.¹⁸⁸ In the Epidicus, the soldier indignantly exclaims, 'Quae te intemperiae tenent? / quas tu mihi tenebras trudis?' when he gets the wrong flute-girl.¹⁸⁹ Again, in the Miles, Philocomasium, pretending to be her own twin sister, tells the slave that he is mad if he thinks she is his master's sweetheart.¹⁹⁰ The situations are the usual ones which call forth charges of madness, and 'to make the matter doubly certain, we have the diagnosis of the slave in the Aulularia: 'Larvae hunc atque intemperiae insaniaeque agitant senem.'¹⁹¹ The problem is to explain just what was meant by *intemperiae*. This can best be done by considering the points of similarity between *intemperiae* and the Greek ἀκρασία.¹⁹²

According to the dictionaries, the phrase is derived from the use of *intemperiae* (sg. *intemperies*) to denote inclement weather. In this sense the word first occurs in the prayer which Cato gives to accompany the lustratio: 'Mars pater, te precor quaesoque . . . uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque prohibeas defendas averruncesque.'¹⁹³ *Calamitas* is also

¹⁸⁶ Paus. 8.34.1. Cf. Lewy, *Lex. Myth.* 2.2324.

¹⁸⁷ Tambornino 63-4, and Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.* 245-6.

¹⁸⁸ *Au.* 71, 642.

¹⁸⁹ 475-6.

¹⁹⁰ 434-5; Quae te intemperiae tenent / qui me perperam perplexo nomine appelles?

¹⁹¹ 642.

¹⁹² There is a rather close correspondence between κεράννυμι and related words on the one hand, and *temperare* and its derivatives and compounds on the other. Cf. E-M s.v. and F. Novotný, *Listy filol.* 38.13-4 (1911).

¹⁹³ R. R. 141.2. *Calamitates* may, it is true, apply to any of the farmer's many enemies, and need not refer specifically to storms (cf. TLL s.v.), and it might be argued that we have no right to assign a more precise meaning to *intemperiae* either. Against this however, besides the etymological evidence (see below, 68-9), is the fact that disease and poor soil, the other chief classes of difficulties against which the farmer has to contend, have already been mentioned.

coupled with *intemperies* in the description of a parasite who is turned loose in the kitchen: 'Clades calamitasque intemperies modo in nostram advenit domum.'¹⁹⁴ The historians, perhaps in imitation of the early annalists, use the singular *intemperies* in the sense of 'bad weather', but always with a genitive modifier, generally *caeli*.¹⁹⁵ This should be compared with the Greek phrase of similar meaning, ἀκρασία τοῦ ἀέρος.¹⁹⁶

In the moral sphere, *intemperies* is equivalent to *intemperantia*, and covers a variety of excesses in disposition or conduct, all the way from the passion of the decemvir Claudius for Virginia¹⁹⁷ to Xanthippe's bad temper.¹⁹⁸ Though ἀκρασία was never used in this way, a somewhat similar semantic development may be seen in the adjective ἄκρατος.¹⁹⁹

Still another force of ἀκρασία is represented by *intemperies*. As the negative of κρᾶσις, ἀκρασία may in physiological writings denote a lack of balance in the proportions of the four humors in the body, resulting in disease.²⁰⁰ One clear example of *intemperies* in this sense can be cited from Latin literature: 'Scitote . . . intemperiem istam quae μελαγχολία dicitur non parvis nec abiectis ingeniis accidere.'²⁰¹ This passage, though obviously based on a Greek source, leads one to suspect that the figurative use of *intemperiae* in Plautus is derived from the technical language of medicine rather than from that of agriculture, as is usually supposed.

An examination of syntactically similar expressions tends to support this theory. Phrases like 'tempestas te tenet', or 'procellae te tenent', apparently do not occur. On the other hand, not to go outside of Plautus, we have 'Tum te igitur morbus agitāt hepatiarius',²⁰² 'Num eum veterinus aut aqua intercus tenet?'²⁰³ 'Me insaniam / neque tenere neque mi esse ullum morbum',²⁰⁴ 'Pestis te tenet',²⁰⁵ as well as

¹⁹⁴ Cap. 911.

¹⁹⁵ E.g. Liv. 8.18.1: Foedus insequens annus seu intemperie caeli seu humana fraude fuit. Cf. Wölfflin, ALL 4.401-2 (1887).

¹⁹⁶ Thphr. C. P. 3.2.5; Cass. Dio 77.11.7; Schol. Arat. 954, p. 519 Maass.

¹⁹⁷ Cic. Rep. 2.63.

¹⁹⁸ Gell. 1. 17. 2.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. L-S⁹ s.v.

²⁰⁰ Hipp. V. Med. 18 (1.616 L), Epid. 2.3.17 (5.118 L), 4.28 (5.172 L). So ἄκρητος in V. Med. 19 (1.618 L). Indigestible foods were said to contain an excess of one quality, and hence were ἄκρητα; cf. esp. V. Med. 14 (1.602-4 L), and also 3 (576 L).

²⁰¹ Gell. 18.7.4; cf. Ps. Arist. Probl. 953a.10-2.

²⁰² Cu. 239.

²⁰³ Men. 891.

²⁰⁴ Cap. 620-1.

²⁰⁵ Am. 581.

'Larvae hunc atque intemperiae insaniaeque agitant senem'.²⁰⁶ In the last passage, if to *intemperiae* be given a medical interpretation, we have a rhetorical climax: spirits, spirits of disease, spirits of madness.

Further evidence may be sought in a curious passage of Martianus Capella, where various lesser divinities of the underworld are listed: 'In his etiam locis Submanes eorumque praestites Mana atque Mantuona, dii etiam quos aquilos dicunt, item Fura Furrinaque et Mater Mania Intemperiaeque et alii †triptes deorum degunt'.²⁰⁷ These divinities, in so far as they can be identified at all, have to do with the dead or are vengeful spirits like the *larvae*. Mana stands for Genita Mana, a goddess of birth and death.²⁰⁸ Submanes is apparently another name for Manes. Mantuona does not occur elsewhere. The functions of Furrina are unknown, but the coupling of her name with Fura suggests that Martianus associated her with the Furies.²⁰⁹ Mater Mania, sometimes known as Mater Larum, and possibly to be identified with Genita Mana, seems to have been a hideous creature somewhat like Hecate in character.²¹⁰ In such company, the Intemperiae are more likely to have been considered spirits of disease than of bad weather.²¹¹

It has been shown that in most of its uses *intemperiae* corresponds to the Greek ἀκρασία, which is also its semantic equivalent. A compound of negative *in-* and the stem of *tempero*, *-are*, its fundamental meaning is 'lack of proper mixture', whether of humors in the body or of the four primary qualities—hot, cold, moist, and dry—in the atmosphere. The word, in spite of its early occurrence,²¹² must imply a certain philosophical background, which is Greek rather than Roman, so that it is not unreasonable to suppose that it is a translation from the Greek. This hypothesis becomes a practical certainty when we note that neg-

²⁰⁶ Au. 642.

²⁰⁷ 2.164. *Triptes* of the MSS has been variously emended to *thripes* (Grotius) and *tristes* (Dick).

²⁰⁸ Samter, RE 7.1154-5.

²⁰⁹ Wissowa, RE 7.383. Fura Furrina might perhaps be taken as one name, cf. Fors Fortuna.

²¹⁰ Cf. Marbach, RE 14.1110-1; Tabeling, Mater Larum 14 ff., esp. 34-5 (Frankfurter Stud. z. Rel. u. Kult. d. Antike 1, Frankfurt, 1932).

²¹¹ Personifications of disease are included in similar lists of underworld spirits; cf. Verg. Aen. 6.275: morbi; Emped. 121 Diels: νόσοι, and Roscher, Lex. Myth. 3.467.

²¹² Cato's prayer may go back to the pontifical records; cf. De Marchi, Il culto privato di Roma antica 1.136 (Milan, 1896); Kappelmacher, Wien. St. 43.170-1 (1922-3).

ative *in-* does not form compounds readily with nouns before the time of Tertullian, and that apart from the ablatives *ingratiis* and *iniussu* only isolated cases occur. The only other Plautine example is *in-satietas*,²¹³ which may conceivably represent ἀπληστία. Of a Greek background however for expressions of the type, 'Intemperiae tenent hominem', there seems to be no evidence, and we are forced to conclude that this was a purely Latin idiom.

²¹³ Au. 487; cf. Wölfflin, ALL 4.400-3 (1887).

III. EXPRESSIONS DENOTING PHYSICAL WEAKNESS

A marked contrast to words which embody primitive notions of religion and magic is provided by those the use of which in regard to mental aberration is based on the conception that such aberration is similar to physical disease or weakness or at least originates in a physical cause.¹

The most common of these terms, as well as the most generalized in meaning, are *sanus* and its derivatives. Their etymology is uncertain; according to the most likely hypothesis, *sanus*, like *satis* and *satur*, is derived from **sā-* 'to fill, to satisfy'.² In any event, the most primitive meaning discernible in Latin is that of physical soundness or health. In early Latin, this sense of the word can be illustrated from Cato's treatise on agriculture, e.g., '(Brassica) omnia sana faciet intro quae dolitabunt', and 'Quos diffidas sanos facere facies'.³ For Cato's *sanum facere*, other authors generally use *sanare*, which means 'to cure', usually of a physical disease, though sometimes of a moral fault, very rarely of a mental one. Caecilius Statius (in a panegyric on the god of love, to be sure) contrasts *sanari* with *in morbum inici*,⁴ and Laberius makes the sage observation that 'homo ebriatus somno sanari solet'.⁵ The notion of physical health is also involved in the alliterative phrase *sanus et salvus*, though here the force of *sanus* is rarely felt. That it could be emphasized however we see from Truculentus' surly reply to Astaphium's greeting, 'Salve'. 'Sat mihi est tuae salutis', he says, 'Nil moror. Non salveo. / Aegrotare malim quam esse tua salute sanior.'⁶

As the fact that *insanus* and *vesanus* never refer to a physical condition might indicate, *sanus* came very early to denote primarily mental soundness.⁷ The meaning is sometimes emphasized by the use of a

¹ Cf. Zabel 50-2.

² Walde-P 2.444, 452.

³ R. R. 157.7, 13. Cf. Keil's index s.v. *sanus*, and the dictionaries. *Sanum facere* is also used of curing madness, cf. Men. 894.

⁴ Fr. 262.

⁵ 10.

⁶ Tru. 259-60. Cf. Ep. 563, Mer. 174, 679, and 889, Ps. 1068.

⁷ Varr. R. R. 2.3.5 plays on the two senses of the word: Capras sanas sanus nemo promittit.

word for mind—Juvenal's '*mens sana in corpore sano*' is a famous example.⁸ The metaphor is clearly seen in the story of the Widow of Ephesus, where the soldier is said to have begun his suit by comforting the widow with the usual reflections '*quibus exulceratae mentes ad sanitatem revocantur*'.⁹ More often however, *sanus* and *insanus*¹⁰ are used alone in the sense of 'sane' or 'crazy', as the case may be. Since madness is more likely to be discussed than sanity, *sanus* is usually negated. Although illustrations are hardly necessary, a few examples taken from comedy may be cited. When Menaechmus pretends to be inspired by Apollo and charges about the stage like a madman, the old man, who is thoroughly deceived, exclaims, '*Vel hic qui insanit quam valuit paullo prius! / Ei derepente tantus morbus incidit*', and goes for the doctor.¹¹ Aristophontes, falsely accused of madness by Tyndarus, replies, '*Me insaniam / neque tenere neque mi esse ullum morbum, nisi quod servio*'.¹² In an amusing scene of the *Casina*, Pardalisca comes out of the house with a terrifying tale of the havoc *Casina* is causing within. She has gotten a sword, and threatens to kill her prospective husband. Lysidamus, who intends himself for that rôle, naturally wants to know what's the matter with her. '*Insanit*', says Pardalisca.¹³ Sannio, the slave dealer, after being robbed of a girl and beaten into the bargain, declares feelingly, '*Pro supreme Iuppiter, / minime miror qui insanire occipiunt ex iniuria*', perhaps with a reference to Ajax.¹⁴ Even the phrase *sanus et salvus* can be used of a mental state, as when Alcmena maintains that she is *sana et salva*, though her husband and Sosia think that she is mad.¹⁵

The foregoing examples are enough to show that *insanus* and related expressions may refer in comedy as elsewhere to genuine madness, or

⁸ 10.356. Cf. Apul. Apol. 21.

⁹ Petr. 111.8. Cf. Am. 1083-4, Men. 802.

¹⁰ *Vesanus* is equivalent to *insanus* in meaning, but has a poetical coloring. In comedy, it occurs only in a formal prayer to Neptune, Tri. 826, on which cf. Marouzeau, RPh 45.183-4 (1921), and Löfstedt, Syntactica 2.306 (Acta Reg. Soc. Hum. Litt. Lund. 10.2, Lund, 1933). Ritschl conjectured *vesanus* in Mi. 1247, and Schoell in Men. 517, but they have not been followed by later editors. There are fourteen cases of *vesanus* to four of *insanus* in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, but *insanus* is the only form used in the *Apologia*, perhaps because it is the technical medical term.

¹¹ Men. 873a-74.

¹² Cap. 620-1. Cf. Au. 642.

¹³ Cas. 667.

¹⁴ Ad. 196-7. Cf. Petr. 59.5, 7; Apul. Met. 3.18.

¹⁵ Am. 720, 730.

rather, to what the speaker at least professes to consider genuine. In the comic dialogue however, and no doubt also in popular speech, any sort of more or less inexplicable conduct may provoke a charge of madness, which is seldom to be taken seriously.¹⁶ In long passages involving a continued misunderstanding, several different expressions may appear,¹⁷ but casual remarks are usually made in the form of a phrase containing *sanus* or *insanus*. The common type of expression is the question, 'Sanus es?'¹⁸ The conduct which is responsible for such an observation varies considerably in degree of absurdity. Often a mistaken identity lies at the root of the trouble. When Periphanes in the Epidicus bids Philippa greet her supposed daughter, the old woman, who has never seen the girl before, replies at once, 'Tu homo insanis'.¹⁹ Peculiar actions of any sort may excite comment. Chaerea, proceeding along the street dressed as a eunuch, is afraid to meet people for fear of being asked, 'Ubi siem / vestitum hunc nanctu', quid mi quaeram, sanu' sim anne insaniam?'²⁰ There is less excuse for the accusation in the passage from the Asinaria where the slave, seeing the merchant approaching the house, yells, 'Quis nostras sic frangit fores? Ohe, inquam, si quid audis.' To which the latter answers, 'Nemo etiam tetigit. Sanus es?'²¹ Perhaps the best example of the faded meaning of these words is the dinner-guests' polite demurrer: 'Quid opus fuit hoc <sumpto> sumptu tanto nostra gratia? / Insanivisti hercle, nam idem hoc hominibus sat erat decem.'²² *Insanum* indeed becomes so colorless as to be used merely as an intensive adverb in such phrases as *insanum bene*, *insanum magnum*, and *insanum bonum* or *malum*.²³

¹⁶ Cf. O'Brien-Moore 54-7.

¹⁷ E.g. Am. 696 ff.: deliramenta loquitur (696); delirat (727); atra bili percita est (727); impliciscier (729); larvarum plena (777).

¹⁸ Cf. Lodge, Lex. Plaut. s.v. 'Ἰγίαινειν is used in the same way in Greek comedy, but is comparatively infrequent, there being but nine cases in Aristoph. Cf. Alexis 262.1-2: τίς δῆθ' ἰγίαινων νοῦν τ' ἔχων τοῖς ποτε / γαμῆν; Menand. Per. 220; and Com. Adesp. 115.2. In repartee, the usual form is οὐχ ἰγίαινεις, not, as in Latin, a question. The only instance of the Latin form is Av. 1213-4: III. σφραγίδ' ἔχεις παρὰ τῶν πελαργῶν; IP. τί τὸ κακόν; III. οὐκ ἔλαβες; IP. ἰγίαινεις μὲν; The common words in Greek corresponding in use, though not in origin, to *sanus* and its compounds involve the notion of talking nonsense. So μηδὲν ἰγίης εἰπεῖν and ληρεῖν.

¹⁹ 575. Cf. 649.

²⁰ Eun. 555-6.

²¹ 384-5.

²² Mi. 754-5.

²³ *Bene*: Mi. 24, Mo. 761; *magnum*: Ba. 761; *bonam*: Mo. 908; *malum*: Tri. 673. Cf. Löfstedt, Phil. Komm. z. Peregrinatio Aetheriae 35-6 (Uppsala, 1911).

In setting forth the Stoic paradox that folly and giving way to emotions are equivalent to madness, and that consequently only the sage is truly sane,²⁴ Cicero defines *insania* as 'mentis aegrotatio et morbus', adding that it is a word of wide application, 'iuncta stultitiae'.²⁵ *Furor* on the other hand he equates with μελαγχολία, saying that it denotes a more violent disorder than *insania*, and to prove his point quotes the clause of the Twelve Tables whereby a guardian is provided for a man 'si furiosus escit'.²⁶ While it is true that *furiosus* is a stronger word than *insanus* and that it is the usual legal term, the distinction as Cicero makes it is not valid for ordinary speech, and he himself ignores it elsewhere, even in philosophical works.²⁷ The Stoic notion of universal madness, furthermore, does not seem to have penetrated the popular consciousness very deeply. *Insanus* is not used of harmful emotions in comedy or in Petronius, and it is in a formal exposition of the doctrine that Varro asks, 'Qui sanus sit avarus?'²⁸

We do however find reflected in the not infrequent use of *sanus* and *insanus* in erotic contexts the conception that love is a form of disease and particularly of madness.²⁹ Parmeno enunciates this principle when, in speaking of the vicissitudes of love, he says, 'Incerta haec si postules / ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas / quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias'.³⁰ The amorous old man Demipho, who pretends to be buying the slave girl for a hypothetical friend, argues that the friend is madly in love with her: 'Ita ille est, quoi emitur senex; / sanus non est ex amore illius.' To this his son retorts in kind: 'Num-

²⁴ Cic. Tusc. 3.7-11, Parad. 4 tit.: ὅτι πᾶς ἀφρων μάλινται; v. Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragm. 3.166.27-167.2 (Leipzig, 1903).

²⁵ Tusc. 3.8, 11.

²⁶ Tusc. 3.11: Itaque non est scriptum 'si insanus', sed 'si furiosus escit' (XII Tab. V.7a). Stultitiam enim censuerunt constantia, id est sanitate, vacantem posse tamen tueri mediocritatem officiorum et vitae communem cultum atque usitatum; furorem autem esse rati sunt mentis ad omnia caecitatem. See above 44.

²⁷ Compare Ac. 2.48: Ea quae vel dormientibus vel furiosis videntur, with 51: Sive in quiete . . . sive per insaniam. Cf. 52 and also Off. 3.95: Si gladium quis apud te sana mente deposuerit, repetat insaniens, reddere peccatum sit (here we should expect *furiosus*); Varr. Sat. 148: Nam ut arquatis lutea quae non sunt et quae sunt lutea videntur, sic insanis sani et furiosi videntur esse insani. Naturally in an extended literary treatment of the paradox such as Hor. Sat. 2.3 or Varro's Eumenides (cf. Schanz-H 1.557-8), a variety of terms must be used for the idea of madness.

²⁸ Sat. 126.

²⁹ Cf. Pichon s.vv., and Preston 8-9.

³⁰ Eun. 61-3. Cf. Menand. 85 K.

quam edepol fuit neque fiet ille senex insanior / ex amore quam ille adulescens quoi ego do hanc operam, pater.'³¹ The distinction sometimes made between a rational and an irrational love may be represented in Demipho's soliloquy concerning his passion: 'Quam ego postquam aspexi, non ita amo ut sanei solent / homines, sed eodem pacto ut insanei solent.'³²

It will be noted that in the passages cited from comedy, the force of *sanus* and its derivatives is made more precise by the accompanying phrase *ex amore* or some form of the verb *amare*. The elegiac poets however often use the words in a technical erotic sense without any such qualifying expressions. The lover is frequently *insanus*, while *sanus* generally means 'fancy-free'. Catullus' lines, 'Si nostri oblita taceret / sana esset', will serve as an example.³³ Only one passage in comedy approximates this technical use of the word.³⁴ In one of the later scenes of the *Miles*, the two courtesans, Acroteleutium and Milphidippa, disguised as a matron and her maid respectively, stand before the soldier's door exchanging remarks about his virtues. The former, pretending to be very much in love, decides to enter the house in search of him. The dialogue goes on: MI. Oclusae sunt fores. AC. Ecfringam. MI. Sana non es[t]. The soldier's slave, who is listening, comments to his master, 'Ut quaeso amore perditast te misera!'³⁵ Even here however *sana* is not really technical, since Acroteleutium could be called mad for wanting to break down the doors, no matter what her motive was.

Of the words which in Latin properly denote physical illness, only *insanus* commonly refers to mental disease.³⁶ Technical medical

³¹ Mer. 442-3, 446-7. Cf. 325.

³² Mer. 262-3. Cf. 265, Cu. 176-7, and Preston 8-9. Other passages are Plaut. Fr. 96, Cu. 187; Afran. 219-20. Caec. St. 168: Consequitur comes insomnia, ea porro insaniam affert, is probably taken from a catalogue of love's disadvantages; cf. Mer. 18-31, esp. 25-6, and Preston 11. *Insanus* and *vesanus* are frequently used as epithets of *amor* or its synonyms in elegiac poetry: Cat. 100.7; Prop. 2.14.18, 15.29, 3.17.3; Ov. Ars 1.372, 2.563; cf. Apul. Met. 5.27, 10.2, 4, 19.

³³ 83.3-4. Cf. Ov. Her. 12.193; Pichon s.v. *sanus*; and Damox. 3.11.

³⁴ And. 692 is included by Preston 9, among the passages where we have love as an aberration, but anger and remorse are certainly also involved.

³⁵ 1250-3.

³⁶ *Aeger* and *aegritudo* are often used of emotional distress, but very rarely of madness. Cf. TLL 1.940-1 and 952-3. *Morbis* is more likely to denote some particular consuming desire or interest; cf. Petr. 46.3: Ingeniosus est et bono filo, etiam si in aves morbosus est. With this Cic. Verr. 2.4.1 and Sen. Ep. 79.4 may be compared. Cf. also O. Hey, ALL 11.520 (1900). On the technical erotic

terms occasionally occur however in literary sources; since the Romans developed no medical theory of their own, these terms are naturally Greek in origin.

All later Greek physicians, whatever the details of their systems, make some sort of distinction between madness that is accompanied by fever and that which is not. To the former the name *φρενίτις* is given. In Latin texts this appears as *phrenesis*, and the adjective as *phreneticus*, but that this spelling is Greek, besides being inherently probable, is proved by Celsus' citation of it from his Greek source.³⁷ How or when the change was made can only be conjectured, since *φρένησις* is not certainly attested in any Greek text, and it appears to have been the only form known to the Romans.³⁸ The Roman use of the word appears moreover to differ markedly from the Greek. *Φρενίτις* and its derivatives are extremely rare except in the medical writers,³⁹ while for *phrenesis* and *phreneticus* several cases may be cited. Examples of the technical meaning of *phreneticus* are found in Cicero⁴⁰ and Petronius,⁴¹ and of *phrenesis*, in Martial.⁴² In Varro's Menippean

sense of *morbus*, cf. Pichon s.v., and Hoelzer, *De Poesi Amatoria a Comicis Atticis Exulta, ab Elegiacis Imitatione Expressa* 43-4 (Diss., Marburg, 1899). Cf. also Friedländer on *Juv.* 2.17. Cicero, *Tusc.* 3.7, suggests *morbi* as a translation of the Stoic *πάθος*, but rejects it as not being idiomatic.

³⁷ 3.18.1: *Incipiam ab insania, primamque huius ipsius partem adgrediar, quae et acuta et in febre est: φρένησιν Graeci appellant.* This passage is overlooked by Hillesum, *Neophilologus* 9.133-4 (1924), who concludes however that the word was Greek, and reports the suggestion of Hesselung that it may have belonged to a sort of learned jargon, which is quite plausible.

³⁸ Hillesum, *NPh* 9.134 suggests ingeniously that the adjective suffix *-ίτις* was confused with the nominal suffix *-τις* (*φάτις*, *πίστις*, etc.), which permits of an alternative *-σις*. Since *η* was pronounced like *ι* in late Greek, the resulting form *φρενῖσις* was written *φρενήσις*, and by a further confusion with *φρόνησις*, *φρένησις*, in which form the Romans borrowed it. All this is of course uncertain, as the author admits. According to Bährens, *Sprachl. Komm. z. App. Probi* 122 (Halle, 1922), *phreneticus* arose through assimilation of *-iticus* to the *e* of the root. Cf. A. Marbach, *Wortbildung, Wortwahl, und Wortbedeutung als Mittel d. Charakterbezeichnung b. Petron* 132 (Diss., Giessen, 1931).

³⁹ The only cases cited by L-S³ are *Plut. Mor.* 693a *φρενιτίζων καὶ μαινόμενος*, 1128d *πυρέτων . . . φρενιτίζων*. The spelling *φρενιτ-*, found in both Wyttenebach's and Bernardakis' editions at 693a, is noteworthy. Bernardakis mentions no variant for either passage. In both these cases *φρενιτίζων* is used in the technical sense.

⁴⁰ *Div.* 1.81.

⁴¹ 63.10.

⁴² 4.80.1, 11.28.1.

Satires, however, the north winds are called *phrenetici*,⁴³ and Petronius applies the same epithet to the incorrigible poetaster Eumolpus, who cannot be induced to stop reciting.⁴⁴ For Juvenal, avarice was a 'furor haut dubius' and a 'manifesta phrenesis'.⁴⁵ That *phreneticus* at least was a genuinely colloquial word, is indicated not only by its occurrence in Petronius, but also by its survival in various of the Romance languages.⁴⁶ It is interesting to see a technical term of this kind pass into ordinary speech, much as the terminology of psycho-analysis has been adopted by conversational English.

So far as colloquial usage is concerned, the history of *μελαγχολία*, the other important technical term of Greek medicine, is almost exactly contrary to that of *φρενίτις*. While *μελαγχολία* does not occur in comedy, the verb *μελαγχολᾶν* is not at all uncommon and was probably colloquial.⁴⁷ The Latin *atra bilis* on the other hand, a translation of *μέλαινα χολή*, occurs only twice in Plautus and nowhere else in Roman comedy.⁴⁸ In both passages, *atra bilis* is invoked as an explanation of madness that has already been otherwise pointed out, possibly because the Greek word is rather emphatic. When Alcmena insists that she has seen her husband the night before, Amphitruo finally comes to the conclusion that she is mad. 'Delirat uxor', he says. Sosia promptly explains, 'Atra bili percita est. / Nulla res tam delirantis homines concinnat cito.'⁴⁹ The other occurrence of the word is in the Captives.⁵⁰ In order to prevent Aristophontes from revealing to Hegio the deception practised upon him, Tyndarus is driven to making the young man out to be crazy. He accuses him of murderous attacks on his parents, compares him to famous mythical madmen, and diagnoses his supposed condition in the best medical manner: 'Ardent oculi;

⁴³ 271.

⁴⁴ 115.5.

⁴⁵ 14.136.

⁴⁶ M-L 6471.

⁴⁷ Av. 14, Eccl. 251, Plutus 12, 366, 903; Menand. Sam. 218; Alex. 211; cf. Menand. Epitr. 496-7: *χολή / μέλαινα προσπέπτωκεν ἢ τοιοῦτό τι*; Pax 66. For *χολᾶν* = *μελαγχολᾶν*, cf. Nub. 833 with Starkie's note; Menand. Epitr. 176, Sam. 201.

⁴⁸ *Μελαγχολᾶν* seems never to have been adapted, and *melancholia* is apparently found only in Cael. Aurel. *Melancolicus* appears in Cic. Div. 1.81 and Tusc. 1.80 (a quotation of Ps. Arist. Probl. 953a.10-2), and in Pliny's Natural History, and can hardly have been colloquial. *Bilis*, like *χολή*, occasionally represents madness, cf. Petr. 90.6 and Apul. Met. 10.25.

⁴⁹ Am. 727-8.

⁵⁰ 547 ff.

fit opus, Hegio; / viden tu illi maculari corpus totum maculis luridis? / atra bilis agitat hominem.⁵¹

The notion that madness is caused by a superfluity of black bile is probably involved not only when the words *atra bilis* are actually used, but also when reference is made to hellebore, the sovereign remedy for mental disorders in antiquity.⁵² The plant was so well known that the name of Anticyra, where much of it grew, could be substituted for it, as in Horace's 'tribus Anticyris caput insanabile'.⁵³ Diphilus wrote a play called οἱ Ἑλληβορίζόμενοι, of which however nothing more than the title is known,⁵⁴ and Petronius declares that the philosopher Chrysippus underwent the hellebore cure three times in order to clear his mind for speculation.⁵⁵ The physician summoned to treat Menaechmus threat-

⁵¹ 594-6. Cf. Varr. Sat. 146: Vix vulgus confluit non furiarum sed puerorum atque ancillarum, qui omnes me bilem atram agitare clamitantes opinionem mihi insaniae meae confirmant. An exact parallel to *maculis luridis maculari* is hard to find, though Men. 828-30 may be compared: Viden tu illic oculos virere? ut viridis exoritur colos / ex temporibus atque fronte, ut oculi scintillant, vide. A greenish complexion is noted as a characteristic of μελαγχολία by Aret. 3.5.7 and by Cael. Aurel. Chron. 1.6.182 (derived from Soranus). For both these authors however, μελαγχολία means an abnormal state of depression and not, as in earlier writers, raving madness; cf. Heiberg, Geisteskrankheiten im kl. Altertum 19-21, 31. If *maculis luridis* can refer to an actual eruption of the skin, perhaps Ps. Arist. Probl. 953a.14-21 should be compared. After asking why it is that all men of eminence are melancholic, the writer goes on to cite Heracles as an example: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔοικε γενέσθαι ταύτης τῆς φύσεως, διὸ καὶ τὰ ἀρρωστήματα τῶν ἐπιληπτικῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσηγόρευον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἱερὰν νόσον. καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκστασις καὶ ἡ πρὸ τῆς ἀφανίσεως ἐν Οἴτῃ τῶν ἐλκῶν ἑκφυσις γενομένη τοῦτο δηλοῖ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο γίνεται πολλοῖς ἀπὸ μελαίνης χολῆς. Indeed, particularly if the *qui sputatur morbus* of Cap. 550 be identified with epilepsy, as is usually done (cf. Brix-Niemeyer ad loc.), it is just possible that we have in this passage a reference to the mad Heracles, who is parodied in Men. 835 ff. and Mer. 930 ff. However this may be, although madness, epilepsy, and disfigurement of the skin were all laid to black bile by the physicians, e.g. Hipp. Prorrh. 2.43 (9.74 L); Gal. 6. 814, 7.727, 15.348, 16.442; (epilepsy) Hipp. Epid. 6.8.31 (5.354-6 L) with Galen ad loc., 8.108, *maculae luridae* cannot be symptoms of epilepsy, as Brix-Niemeyer and Waltzing imply in their notes on the passage. It is of course not necessary to see any consistent clinical picture in these details. If Tyndarus cannot keep his medicine straight, the comic effect is not thereby impaired. He is confused enough in any case when he mixes physical symptoms with references to mythical heroes driven mad by the wrath of avenging deities.

⁵² Cf. Stadler, RE 8.163-70; O'Brien-Moore 30-5; Couch, TAPA 67.194-5 (1936).

⁵³ A. P. 300. Cf. Sat. 2.3.165-6, and Kiessling-Heinze ad loc.; Diph. 126.7.

⁵⁴ Kock, Comic. Att. Frag. 2.549.

⁵⁵ 88.4. Cf. TLL 5.2.396.62 ff.

ens to make the patient drink hellebore for twenty days, although he seems to have some doubts about the efficacy even of such drastic measures, so serious is the case.⁵⁶ The drug naturally lent itself to comic exaggeration. When Ballio and Simo, thinking the soldier's slave Harpax is an imposter, begin to abuse him, he is both puzzled and angry and finally concludes, 'Elleborum hisce hominibus opus est.'⁵⁷ Menaechmus is probably thinking of hellebore too when he says, 'Quacso herele, mulier, si scis, monstra quod bibam / tuam qui possim perpeti petulantiam.'⁵⁸ Plautus also has the adjective *elleborosus* in the sense of 'crazy'. It might be thought that since the suffix *-osus* normally means 'full of', a man 'full of hellebore' should be eminently sane.⁵⁹ Yet the slave Phaniscus certainly thinks Theopropides crazy for insisting that the house where he knows Philolaches has been carrying on a perpetual carouse is vacant. 'Senex hic elleborosust certe', he says. 'Erras pervorse pater, / nam nisi hinc hodie emigravit aut heri, certo scio / hic habitare.'⁶⁰ There is no guarantee of course that just because a man has been heavily dosed with hellebore, he is thereby immediately cured.⁶¹

In a somewhat different category from the preceding words, but still related to them, are expressions which denote physical weakness or

⁵⁶ Men. 950. Cf. 913.

⁵⁷ Ps. 1185.

⁵⁸ Men. 742-3. Cf. Vesp. 1489; Menand. 69 K: ἐλλέβορον ἤδη πώποτ' ἔπιες, Σωσία;—ἀπαξ.—πάλιν νῦν πῖθι· μάλιν γὰρ κακῶς.

⁵⁹ Kampmann, Adnot. in Pl. Rud. 48 (Oels 1830), gives this meaning to *elleborosus* in Ru. 1005-6: GR. Quaesio, sanus es? TR. Elleborosus sum. GR. [At] ego cerritus, hunc non amittam tamen. This interpretation will not do however for Mo. 952, the only other case of the word. Since the older editions read *cerebrosus* here, Kampmann naturally took only the Rudens citation into account.

⁶⁰ Mo. 952-4.

⁶¹ Plautus is possibly translating ἐλλεβοριᾶν, which the lexicographers quote from the comic poet Callias (28 K) in the sense of 'to need hellebore'. Cf. Starkie on Vesp. 8; Rutherford, The New Phrynichus 153 (London, 1881); O'Brien-Moore 41, n. 5. *Elleborosus* may have been coined on the analogy of *vinosus* and *virosus*, cf. Marx on Ru. 1006; but cf. *podagrosus* (Mer. 595, Poe. 532): ποδαγρᾶν (Plutus 559; Plato, Alc. II.139e), and esp. *cerebrosus* (cf. TLL s.v.), which probably refers to madness in Lucil. 514: Te primum cum istis insanum hominem et cerebrosum, and to anger in Hor. Sat. 1.5.21. Cf. Non. 22.7: Cerebrosi dicuntur ad insaniam faciles, quibus frequenter cerebrum moveatur. It is tempting to compare this word with *ἐγκεφαλᾶν; though the simple verb does not occur, the compound ἐτερεγκεφαλᾶν is quoted from Aristophanes Fr. 778 (cf. Poll. 2.42), and Lucilius was notorious for his use of Greek; cf. Hor. Sat. 1.10.20 and Kiessling-Heinze ad loc.

physical deficiency rather than disease. Such terms, which generally refer to folly and stupidity instead of to more positive aberrations, are however poorly represented in Latin. *Ingeni imbecillitas* occurs in a fragment of Afranius,⁶² and Terence uses *mollities animi* of the lover's lack of firmness and resolution,⁶³ but there is no common phrase comparable to English 'feeble-minded'.⁶⁴ Phrases like Catullus' 'omnis eripit sensus mihi', which involve the idea of being 'bereft of one's senses', are also rare,⁶⁵ but *caecus* may be used metaphorically of foolish or of raving persons.⁶⁶ Sceledrus, finally convinced that it is Philocomasium's twin sister he has seen kissing the young man next door, exclaims, 'Nunc demum scio / me fuisse excordem, caecum, incogitabilem.'⁶⁷ *Caecus* may also have a figurative sense in the fragment of Afranius, 'Orbitatem tuae senectuti malam / metui, quod in solum non venit caeco ac dementi tibi.'⁶⁸ More frequently however, *caecus* refers to violent passion and especially to love. A good illustration is furnished by Martial's epigram, 'Plus credit nemo tota quam Cordus in urbe. / Cum sit tam pauper, quomodo? Caecus amat.'⁶⁹

Something similar to a physical interpretation of mental disorders or weakness may be found in expressions which literally mean 'without mind'. This is most clearly seen when the 'mind' is identified with the part of the body where the intellectual functions are supposed to be located. In Greek, this conception is illustrated by *ἄφρων*, *ἀφροσύνη*, etc., derived from *φρήν* 'the diaphragm', and in Latin, by *excors*, *socors*, and *vecors*. Cicero makes these words exemplify the Aristotelian doctrine that the heart is the seat of intelligence;⁷⁰ perhaps it would be more accurate to say that their existence is evidence that the popular

⁶² 291.

⁶³ Eun. 222. Cf. Afran. 348.

⁶⁴ Cf. Zabel, 35-6.

⁶⁵ 51.5-6. Cf. 66.25 and Ov. Met. 14.177-8. Phaedr. 1.7.4 and Dig. 24.3.22.7 are less close. Greek apparently does not have the idiom at all; the original of Cat. 51.6 is *τὸ μ' ἢ μὲν / καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἐπτόασεν* (Sapph. 2.5-6), an entirely different figure. For the Germanic expressions, which are not very numerous, cf. Zabel 41.

⁶⁶ Cf. TLL 3.43.37 ff., and Knapp, AJP 14.222 (1893), on *obsurduit* (Gell. 12.1.11).

⁶⁷ Mi. 543-4. Cf. Menand. 770.

⁶⁸ 40-1.

⁶⁹ 3.15. Cf. Cat. 64.197 (with Kroll's note), 67.25; Juv. 10.351, 12.51; Varr. Sat. 30.

⁷⁰ Tusc. 1.18: *Aliis cor ipsum animus videtur, ex quo excordes, vecordes concordisque dicuntur et Nasica ille prudens bis consul 'Corculum' et 'egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus'.*

notions of physiology which were adopted by Aristotle prevailed among the Romans as well as among the Greeks.⁷¹

Though the three adjectives all denote the absence of that intelligence which is situated in the heart, and though there is nothing in the nature of the several prefixes to differentiate them, they actually vary in meaning to a marked degree. *Excors* may mean generally 'stupid' or 'foolish',⁷² but in Cicero it particularly refers to a naïve credulity and lack of perspicacity. Thus he asks, 'Quaevae anus tam excors inveniri potest quae illa quae quondam credebantur apud inferos portenta extimescat?'⁷³ Again, in a discussion of flattery, he warns against the insidious variety, 'aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors.'⁷⁴ In the fifth Philippic, he scornfully points out the significance of the proposal to assign Transalpine Gaul to Antony: 'Hoc qui non videt, excors, qui cum videt decernit, impius est.'⁷⁵ This is probably also the sense of the word in the two passages of comedy where it occurs. A light seems to dawn on Sceledrus when he is persuaded that Philocomasium has a twin sister. 'Nunc demum scio', he says, 'me fuisse excordem, capœum, incogitabilem.'⁷⁶ Among the disadvantages of love enumerated in the catalogue at the beginning of the *Mercator* are 'ineptia stultitiaque adeo et temeritas, incogitantia excors, immodestia.'⁷⁷ These words all describe the irrationality of the lover,⁷⁸ but some distinctions may be drawn. *Stultitia* is a general term which may cover various aspects of the lover's folly,⁷⁹ *temeritas*

⁷¹ Cf. L-S² s.v. *καρδία* and Beare, *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition from Alcmaeon to Aristotle* 5-6 and 329-31 (Oxford, 1906). The alternative theory, put forward by Alcmaeon (cf. Beare 5 and 131), and upheld by Plato and by the author of the *Sacred Disease*, that the brain is the center of intelligence, also finds occasional expression in Latin, e.g. Au. 151-2: *Quia mi misero cerebrum excutiant / tua dicta, soror: lapides loqueris*; Ba. 251: *Heu cor meum et cerebrum . . . finditur*; Juv. 14.57-8: *vacuumque cerebro / iam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat*; Prisc. Inst. 18.31 (GLK 3.222.16). Cf. Nub. 1276: *τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ὥσπερ σεσεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖς*; Aristoph. Fr. 778 *ἐτερεγκεφαλᾶν*.

⁷² Cf. Hor. Sat. 2.3.67, Ep. 1.2.25; Gell. 18.4.10. Acc. Did. 1.9 (FPL 36) seems to refer to madness.

⁷³ N.D. 2.5; cf. Tusc. 1.11.

⁷⁴ Lael. 99.

⁷⁵ 5.5. Cf. 2.18, Planc. 71, Dom. 48. Apparently the only passage in Cicero where *excors* does not have this peculiar sense is Div. 2.37 (cf. Pease ad loc.), where it is used instead of *vecors* for the sake of a pun.

⁷⁶ Mi. 543-4.

⁷⁷ 26-7.

⁷⁸ Cf. Prescott, CP 4.16-7 (1909).

⁷⁹ Cf. Pichon s.v. *stultus*.

means 'rashness', *immodestia* probably refers to the lover's lack of moderation and self-control,⁸⁰ and *ineptia* to the absurdity of his conduct and of his speech.⁸¹ There is left then the specific folly which Cicero's usage would lead us to assign as the meaning of *incogitantia excors*, the lover's readiness to believe everything his sweetheart tells him and his inability to see through her deceptions.

Socors and *socordia*⁸² refer ordinarily to sluggishness and lack of initiative, as appears from cases where *socordia* is linked with *segnities*, *desidia*, *ignavia*, or *somnus*.⁸³ Libanus, for example, reproaches himself for idling in the forum instead of thinking up some scheme to get money for his young master: 'Ibi tu ad hoc diei tempus dormitasti in otio. / quin tu aps te socordiam omnem reice et segnitiam amove / atque ad ingenium vetus vorsutum te recipis tuom?'⁸⁴ The words may also suggest negligence and carelessness, as in Micio's reproof to Aeschinus, 'Credebas dormienti haec tibi confecturos deos? / et illam sine tua opera in cubiculum iri deductum domum? / nolim ceterarum rerum te socordem eodem modo.'⁸⁵ These connotations of *socors* are seen sometimes even in cases where actual stupidity may also be meant. In Cicero's description of the orator M'. Glabrio, 'bene institutum avi Scaevolae diligentia socors ipsius natura neglegensque tardaverat', *socors* may be equivalent both to *segnis* and to *stolidus*.⁸⁶ Livy writes that, to Appius Claudius the Censor, dictators who retired from office voluntarily at the end of their terms must have seemed *stolidi et socordes*,⁸⁷ and Tacitus refers to the *socordia* of the intimates of Vitellius who allowed him to make a formal proclamation on the anniversary of the Allia.⁸⁸ Certain examples of *socors* in the sense of 'stupid' are rare,

⁸⁰ Cf. Cic. Tusc. 4.36 and Prescott, CP 4.17.

⁸¹ See above 28-9.

⁸² The original form must have been *secors*; cf. E-M s.vv. *socors* and *sed*, and P. Fest. 375.2: Compositum autem videtur ex si, quod est sine, et corde. The text of Festus probably read *se* for *si* (cf. Lindsay GL 4.393) and is probably also the ultimate source of the glosses of *secors* used by Löwe, ALL 1.27 (1884), and Landgraf, ALL 9.427 (1896), to establish the existence of a form *secors* or *secordia* equivalent to *socors*. Cf. Abba SE 11 (GL 5.120 = CGL 4. 282.51) and Abstrusa SE 9 (GL 3.78 = CGL 4. 169.10).

⁸³ *Segnities*: As. 254; And. 206; *desidia*: Auct. Herenn. 2.35; Sall. Cat. 4.1; *ignavia*: Sall. Cat. 58.4; *somnus*: Ps. 144.

⁸⁴ As. 253-5. Cf. Poe. 317.

⁸⁵ Ad. 693-5. Cf. 684 and Ci. 674.

⁸⁶ Brut. 239. Cf. N.D. 1.4 and Acc. Trag. 278.

⁸⁷ 9.23.13. Cf. Tac. Hist. 1.24.

⁸⁸ Hist. 2.91.

and except perhaps for a mutilated fragment of Cato, belong to imperial literature.⁸⁹ Tacitus speaks of the *socordia* of those 'qui praesenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam,'⁹⁰ and Suetonius makes *socors* and *stultus* synonymous when he reports that Antonia, 'si quem socordiae argueret, stultiore aiebat filio suo Claudio.'⁹¹

Vecors, perhaps the most common of these words, may denote stupidity,⁹² but usually refers to madness or rather to emotional states which have similar manifestations. Panic fear, love, prophetic inspiration, and excessive cruelty may be so described.⁹³ A feeling that unnatural behavior reflects a state of madness is perhaps back of Charinus' outburst in the *Andria*:⁹⁴

Hoccinest credibile aut memorabile,
tanta vecordia innata quoiquam ut siet
ut malis gaudeant atque ex incommodis
alterius sua ut comparent commoda?

Gellius speaks of the *vecordia* of women who, for fear of spoiling their beauty, practise abortion or refuse to nurse the children that they have borne.⁹⁵ The same use of *vecordia* may be illustrated by an anecdote told of a certain L. Veratius, who was 'egregie homo improbus atque immani vecordia'. According to the Twelve Tables, a fine of twenty-five asses was prescribed for assault and battery, so Veratius amused himself by walking about slapping men in the face, and after each

⁸⁹ Cato, Orig. 7.15 Jordan = 117 Peter ap. Fest. 374.11: <Socordi>am quidam <pro ignavia posuerunt . . . > M. Cato pro <stultitia posuit Originum lib.> VII, cum ait . . . mensam ti . . . ne quid neg . . . retur. Müller (after Ursinus) Fest. 293 reads: . . . <ob im>mensam ti <miditatem et socordiam causa erat> ne quid neg<oti publici> . . . <gere>retur.

⁹⁰ Ann. 4.35.

⁹¹ Claud. 3.2. Cf. Apul. Apol. 24: Apud socordissimos Scythas Anacharsis sapiens natus est, apud Athenienses catos Meletides fatuus.

⁹² Liv. 4.49.11; perhaps Cic. Har. Resp. 19; Aur. Viet. Caes. 4.1: Igitur Claudius quamquam . . . vecors iuxta atque immemor pavidusque animi et ignavior esset, pleraque per formidinem tamen egregie consultabat . . . quippe stolidorum ingenia proinde agunt uti monitores; cf. 3.17, Epit. 4.2, also Caes. 40.17, 41.26. In Sall. Jug. 94.4: At Numidae . . . male dicere Romanis ac Mario vecordiam obiectare, *vecordia* has the force of *segnitia*.

⁹³ Fear: Sall. Jug. 72.2, 99.3; Tac. Hist. 2.23; Justin. 24.8.3; love: Apul. Met. 3.17, Apol. 84; cf. Cat. 15.14; inspiration: Apul. Met. 8.27; Justin. 24.6.9; cruelty: Liv. 4.50.4; Val. Max. 9.2.4; Apul. Met. 9.36.

⁹⁴ 625-8.

⁹⁵ 12.1.8.

offense ordered a slave to pay the amount of the penalty to the victim.⁹⁶ Though *vecordia* is not a legal term, it approaches the legal sense of *furor* in Tacitus' account of Plautius Silvanus' trial for the murder of his wife and his suicide. Tacitus concludes the episode with the statement that Numantina, Silvanus' former wife, was accused of having bewitched him—'iniecissee carminibus et veneficiis vecordiam marito'—but was acquitted.⁹⁷ Ordinarily however real insanity is not involved. This is probably true also of the citations from Pacuvius and Novius by which Festus illustrates his definition of *vecors* as 'turbati et mali cordis'.⁹⁸ Cicero uses the word several times as a term of abuse.⁹⁹

Between *amens* and *demens* on the other hand, there is hardly any difference except that *demens* can be used as a medical term, while *amens* apparently is not.¹⁰⁰ Cicero defines them both the same way,¹⁰¹ and they are frequently used in similar contexts. The Andria furnishes a case in point. Pamphilus has decided to acknowledge the child which his sweetheart is expecting, and the slave Davos describes the plan as an 'inceptio amentium, haud amantium', while the young man's father, on hearing of the idea, exclaims, 'Quid hoc? adeo est demens? ex peregrina?'¹⁰² Both words are used in a wide variety of

⁹⁶ Labeo ad XII Tab. fr. 3 Br. ap. Gell. 20.1.13.

⁹⁷ Ann. 4.22.

⁹⁸ 512.12: *Vecors est turbati et mali cordis*. Pacuvius in Iliona (216): 'paelici superstitionis cum vecordi coniuge,' et Novius in Hercule Coactore (40 a): 'tristimoniam ex animo deturbat et vecordiam.' Festus' definition is obviously based on etymology, and some form of the adjective *malus* is his usual rendering of the prefix *ve-*. Cf. Lindsay, GL 4.462. The use of *turbatus* is more interesting, and may be compared with Plin. N. H. 24.75: (Hedera) mentem turbat; and Verg. Aen. 12.599-601: subito mentem turbata dolore . . . multaque per maestum demens effata furorem. In the absence of any context it is impossible to determine the connotation of *vecordia* in the fragments quoted. If Legrand's reconstruction of the Leucadia be right, Sext. Turp. 121 ap. Non. 467.34 (cited according to Lindsay): vultu vecordi vagas insania, describes the wild despair of the rejected lover. Cf. REG. 17.318 (1904). A similar picture is presented by Apul. Met. 8.6, though the cause of the *vecordia* is different.

⁹⁹ Pis. 21, 47; Sest. 117; Har. Resp. 2; Dom. 141.

¹⁰⁰ Cels. 2.8.42; 3.18.3, 22. Since *vehemens* never seems to denote mental aberration of any kind, it has been omitted from this discussion, although it was probably originally a compound of *vē-* and *mens* (cf. *vecors*), associated with *veho* by popular etymology. Cf. E-M s.v.

¹⁰¹ Tusc. 3.10: Animi adfectionem lumine mentis carentem nominaverunt amentiam eandemque dementiam.

¹⁰² 218, 468-9. Cf. Ad. 390, 757; Hec. 672.

situations. Horace says that anyone who collected objects which he had no occasion to use would rightly be considered 'delirus et amens'.¹⁰³ Cicero makes *amens* a synonym of *insanus* in a fragment of his oration in behalf of Scaurus,¹⁰⁴ and concludes a bitter invective against Piso with the words, 'Ego te . . . non tragico illo Oreste aut Athamante dementiorem putem?'¹⁰⁵ Catullus speaks of Attis as *demens*.¹⁰⁶ In Petronius' burlesque version of the judgment of Solomon, Encolpius and Ascyrtos propose to divide Giton. The boy not unnaturally objects: 'Inter hanc miserorum dementiam infelicissimus puer tangebatur utriusque genua cum fletu.'¹⁰⁷ *Dementia* may also refer to senility.¹⁰⁸ Like other words for madness and folly, *amens* and *demens* form part of the *sermo amatorius*. The alliterative phrase *amens et amans* is proverbial; Apuleius' 'Dic tu quibus verbis epistulam finierit mulier obcantata, vecors, amens, amans', will serve as an example.¹⁰⁹ The fragment of Afranius, 'Amentes, quibus animi non sunt integri, surde audiunt', may well refer to lovers.¹¹⁰ Caecilius Statius describes Love as the highest god, 'cui in manu sit, quem esse dementem velit',¹¹¹ and in similar terms Milphio says of Adelphasium, 'Haec est . . . quae meum erum dementem facit.'¹¹²

Instead of being completely 'mindless', the crazy person may be described as 'non compos mentis'¹¹³ or 'inpos animi'. Menaechmus calls his wife 'mala', 'stulta', and 'indomita inposque animi' for persistently opposing his wishes,¹¹⁴ and Diniarchus pleads as his excuse for seducing Callicles' daughter that he did it 'animi inpos vini vitio'.¹¹⁵ In these passages, *inpos animi* might refer merely to lack of self-control,

¹⁰³ Sat. 2.3.107. Cf. Am. 470-1.

¹⁰⁴ Scaur. 45 (n) L.: Incurristi amens in columnas, in alienos insanus insanisti, depressam, caecam, iacentem domum pluris quam te et fortunas tuas aestimasti. Cf. Verr. 1.7 and 2.1.1. In Deiot. 16, however, *amens* is synonymous with *imprudens* and *stultus*, and in Deiot. 21, with *fatuus*. Cf. Verr. 2.1.102, 2.4.33, and Sext. Turp. 95-6.

¹⁰⁵ Pis. 47. Cf. N.D. 1.94, Parad. 4.27; and also Liv. 1.48.7.

¹⁰⁶ 63.89. Cf. Juv. 15.1.

¹⁰⁷ 80.3; cf. 115.19.

¹⁰⁸ Juv. 10.233; Apul. Apol. 37; perhaps Afran. 41.

¹⁰⁹ Apol. 84. Cf. Otto s.v. *amare*, 6 and Sutphen, AJP 22.6-7.

¹¹⁰ 348. Cf. Menand. 59 K, quoted by Ribbeck ad loc.

¹¹¹ 261.

¹¹² Poe. 204. Cf. H. T. 257; Acc. Trag. 638; Apul. Apol. 78; Menand. 262 K: *ἔργον ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἄνοιαν ἡμερᾶ μεταστήσαι μὲν*, where Koek following Ellis compares Cat. 76.13; also Menand. 504 K.

¹¹³ Common in prose, but not found in comedy, cf. TLL 3.2136.50-7.

¹¹⁴ Men. 110; cf. Ba. 615 and And. 879, Ad. 310.

¹¹⁵ Tru. 828; cf. Tri. 131.

but in the Casina the phrase pretty clearly denotes madness. Pardaliska dashes out of the house, calling back over her shoulder, 'Eripite isti gladium, quae suist inpos animi'. She then explains to Lysidamus that Casina has run amuck, and is crazy ('insanit').¹¹⁶ On the other hand, the hero of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* behaves quite differently, for he says that he could not remember how he got to the bath or came home after his humiliating experience in the theatre: 'sic omnium oculis, nutibus ac denique manibus denotatus inpos animi stupebam.'¹¹⁷

The notion that madness is an affection of the mind may naturally be expressed by a variety of phrases involving the word *mens*, of which the most common is *mala mens*. Catullus threatens Aurelius with dire punishment if he attempts to seduce Juventius, 'si te mala mens furorque vecors / in tantam impulerit, sceleste, culpam.'¹¹⁸ Apuleius says that a man who should presume to be initiated into the mysteries of Isis before receiving the 'call' would be 'perditae mentis'.¹¹⁹ Again, in a fragment of the *Amphitruo*, the hero refers to a 'Thessalum veneficum / qui pervorse perturbavit familiae mentem meae.'¹²⁰

In this connection, it may be noted that ignorance or lack of education may be thought to imply also a low mental level. Such an idea is reflected in *inscitus*, which has a derogatory connotation and is often joined with *stultus*.¹²¹ Its uses are very similar to those of *stultus*, and offer nothing new.¹²² The idea that it is foolish to do a particular thing may be expressed by a phrase consisting of *inscitia est* followed by an infinitive. As an example, the proverb, *inscitiast / advorsu' stimulum calces* (sc. *iactare*), may be cited.¹²³ *Inscite facere* is found once in Plautus,¹²⁴ and *inscitia* like *stultitia* is used euphemistically for the seduction of a girl.¹²⁵

¹¹⁶ 629, 667.

¹¹⁷ 3.12. Cf. 5.22.

¹¹⁸ 15.14. Cf. 40.1; Juv. 14.226; and also Laber. 138.

¹¹⁹ Met. 11.21.

¹²⁰ 1044. Cf. Juv. 6.610-1: Hic. Thessala vendit / philtre, quibus valeat mentem vexare mariti, and see above 83 n. 98.

¹²¹ Men. 440, Mi. 542, 736. In Ru. 597: mirum atque insecitum somniavi somnum, *inscitum* seems to mean 'unheard-of'. Cf. Marx ad loc. *Insciens* and *inscius* merely denote ignorance; cf. E-M, 867. *Imprudens* occasionally means 'foolish', e.g. Tac. Ann. 1.70 (a description of the confusion during a violent storm): Nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab imprudenti, consilia a casu differre. Cf. Georges s.v.

¹²² See above 18-22.

¹²³ Ph. 77. Cf. Otto s.v. *stimulus*. Other examples of the idiom *inscitia est* are Cu. 185, Poe. 921; Eun. 1071.

¹²⁴ Tri. 95.

¹²⁵ Tru. 845.

IV. CONCLUSION

It will be seen that in Latin mental aberration and mental deficiency could be expressed by a fairly wide variety of words, with differing connotations. If the list of terms seems much more restricted than that presented in Zabel's collection of the Germanic material, or even than current English slang, it must be remembered that Zabel's work covers all the Germanic languages, so that the expressions to be found in any one dialect would be much less numerous, and that, furthermore, only a small fraction of Roman slang has been preserved. In regard to the sources of the vocabulary, the lack of expressions which can be referred to the technical jargon of specific occupations may be noted. Commerce is, naturally enough perhaps, not represented at all. *Mente captus* may be compared to military phrases, but there seem to be no others. Agriculture contributes more, if we count such terms of abuse as *asinus*, *stipes*, etc., but these do not necessarily belong to the technical language of the farmer. *Delirare* is the only really technical word. Although religious beliefs are reflected in a considerable number of words, there is nothing derived from the cant of religious ceremonial. From another point of view, it is interesting that there are so few loan-words. The group *bardus*, *baro*, etc. is probably Etruscan. *Gurdus* may be Spanish. There are naturally more from Greek. *Bacchari*, *blennus*, *bliteus*, and *morus* are definite borrowings, as are the medical terms *elleborus* and *phreneticus*. *Bacchari* refers of course to a Greek cult, and *morus* did not long remain in common use at Rome. *Intemperiae* may be a semantic borrowing, and *atra bilis* certainly is. But the common terms used over and over again, like *insanus* and *stultus*, are Latin.

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